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THE STANDARD.

Footprints of Slavery.

LETTER FROM A MISSISSIPPI SLAVEHOLDER.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Some friend has been kind enough to send me your paper of the 23d ult., in which an article was marked so as to draw my attention thereto. I presume I know the writer, as remarks are therein contained which could alone come from him. My friend R. gave you the substantials. I beg to correct one point and explain another. Though hands go to work at daylight and work till dark, yet they are allowed half an hour for breakfast, and one hour for dinner at the time he was here. Negroes have no need of furniture; they have bedsteads and bedding, and seats, with chests or trunks for clothes, about as much as labourers have anywhere. This is unimportant, yet I like to be square up before all people. The names of three of us are given—one born in England, but emigrating here when a young man; the other two native born.* Of the other two, one then owned by a native of Scotland, having lived years in a free State; the other a native of a free State. This is also unimportant, but it is always right to give all the facts, especially if *fair representations* are intended.

We here, who know of the management of negroes and how they should be treated, do not think women make worst *masters* (?) further than others have to manage them; but we always think those who are not born to them are more prone to be severe, and because they expect too much. In my acquaintance, and I would challenge comparison, I find more pushing masters among northern-raised men than of any other class.

But I did not seat me for this purpose; it was to say of present management; for when friend R. was here, it was but a short time after my pecuniary difficulties—equal almost to starting the world anew. I am responsible alone to God; not making any provision for my family under the law of the land. As yet I am not fixed, but still providing comforts as my means will permit.

We now have in this estate 1,168 acres of land; on the place 66 negroes, 20 work-horses and mules, 5 yoke of choice oxen.

We plant 270 or 280 acres in cotton, and 125 in corn.

We send to the field 34 negroes, old and young, rating them at 30 hands; have 1 carpenter; a woman who cooks for the above, with all children in charge.

There are 5 women, 1 boy of 14, a girl of 7, and 2 small boys of 3 and 4 (which have been rather puny to endure ordinary treatment), about the house. Another woman cooks and washes for overseer (belonging to him). Thus 10 are deducted from the 66, leaving 56, who get, weighed out daily, 22 to 24 pounds of fat bacon. Of these, 3 are children from 2 months to 6 years old. In addition, they have unlimited access to vegetables and meal. No cooking permitted in negro-houses—all cooked by the cook at her house, 32 by 16, with large brick chimney and brick oven. I do not know what meat each one gets, only that all are satisfied. I prefer that children should have at dinner *the pot-liquor and bread*, with not much meat, finding our children are healthier. We churn for butter every day, negroes getting all sour milk, but excluding from children.

We have an overseer at $600; we furnish meat and bread for himself, wife and three children, a house with two rooms and passage, a kitchen, store room and horse bed. Our rule is, to eat breakfast before going to work from middle of October to March, then an hour for dinner; in the summer, they take breakfast out with them, and eat from 6 to 7; come to dinner at 12. About 1st of May, all hands stop from 12 till 3 o'clock, at which time nothing is done, unless to wash babes by mothers; this is *nooning*.

We give two summer suits and a straw hat, two winter suits, a wool hat and two pair of shoes; a blanket, worth $2, every two years.

All wood is hauled for fires in winter and for cooking; washing done every Saturday afternoon by all the females; all clothing made by house women. Cistern water used entirely.

We lost one of our best fellows a year ago. His death was caused by a mule, though he lived for months after the injury, not having his mind, or able to go about. Also three children, born at a birth, not living an hour. This comprises all deaths for some five to ten years. Our children are as hearty and as saucy boys and girls as can be shown anywhere.

We require all negroes to attend family worship every Sabbath morn and eve—at the latter time an hour is spent in instruction by myself, or frequently by some visiting preacher. They all are required to attend preaching one Sabbath in each month, 2 1-2 miles off, and can go farther another Sabbath if they desire it. We permit no wives or husbands off the place, require marriages with a proper ceremony, always providing partners.

Our women with young children come to the cook-house to nurse their children at breakfast at 9 1-2, 12, and in the afternoon (nooning, of course, excepted, as they are then in, but always three times a day, besides the noon). Each family has a house 16x18, brick chimney, and house two to three feet above earth.

Many negroes here have as comfortable quarters as any man would need, even to sleeping between sheets. My carpenter is employed at home. We make corn and meat usually. For twenty-three years I have sold more of each than I have bought by a fair margin.

We might make more money by a different treatment, and we might spend more money on our negroes, if we would listen to questionable friends of neither negroes nor ourselves. We act from principle, and never cared to shape our course to please man. I have examined much into the treatment of slaves, having, some twenty years ago, practised medicine, with an opportunity to see how different diet and treatment affected health. Half pound of sound bacon, with vegetables and bread in plenty, and cistern-water, is, in my opinion, a certain preventive to disease; but the cook must be watched, and water carriers noticed. Negroes fed on three-quarters of a pound of bacon and bread are more prone to disease than if with less meat, but with vegetables. Negroes never become above children; they will expose themselves to rain and cold, night air, and to anything that children will. I have known a negro to eat a pound of meat at a meal, eating scarcely any bread; and others to eat scarcely any meat in the summer, but to use milk. Milk diet I find to be unhealthy here, and have, for some ten or fifteen years, forbid it to children particularly.

We do not permit negroes to stir out before day, nor to get wet, if possible, nor do any night work, save feeding horses and shelling corn. We allow no swearing, calling harsh names, wrangling, nor any encroachment on each other's rights. We give a day or a half-day's holiday occasionally during the summer, two to four days at Christmas, and a dance when the young ones desire it. No work done yesterday or to-day, having had to work very hard to get out of the grass, and, working so faithfully without trouble, we gave two days' holiday. Although very hard work this year, owing to so much rain, no grown negro has required more than calling his name, and telling him to hurry. Our present manager has been here three years, and in the vicinity another year.

I have written thus freely to let many of your readers see that all negroes are not treated here as many would make out. I believe I could show families treated much better than my own is; but my own know all the circumstances, and are as well content as any labourers are on this broad earth. I have seen negroes and white labourers there in New York and in Pennsylvania, and know that these negroes are as well clad, as well housed, as well fed and happier than those in New York and Pennsylvania, taking them as they come, whom I saw. I write not to please, having nothing to gain by it, nor with any expectation of adding one mite to the happiness of many of your readers who make themselves miserable by trying to attend to other people's affairs. I belong to the southern wing of the Democracy, and have nothing to ask for. Yet I would desire that all my fellow-citizens of this republic would work for the common good, so that we may fulfill the great object of our mission — serve God with fidelity.

I saw more destitution in Philadelphia in the winter of 1828 than I have seen in the South in forty years. I have seen a negro in Philadelphia buy one cent's worth of wood. I never saw negroes beg for food but those belonging to one man. These are facts. We have hard masters here, but they are more talked against than hard masters are there. I have seen an able-bodied negro woman in Philadelphia — a good cook, washer and ironer—work for months for her *food only*, while here, even if free, she would have been paid $10 to $20 per month.

The poor white folks of the South fare worse than slaves. Laziness fares not well anywhere.

Yours, with respect, &c. M. W. PHILIPS.
Log Hall, Edwards, Miss., July 9, 1854.

P. S. These pages are written trusting you will publish—written to elicit no discussion, but to give the truth. The facts related by Friend R. are, I suppose, true, but there is a colouring I do not approve. As to the Nebraska and Kansas Territories, we of Mississippi have no use for them. A few may go there to buy lands, and I doubt not but what a friend of mine has now 20,000 acres staked out. It requires capital to go into that country and compete with the northern man. He can buy and build, and fix up for say $5,000; and hire labourers to clear and cultivate, and produce thousands of bushels of grain. Were we to enter the business, it is safe to say we would have to employ a capital of $1,000 for every labourer that the northern man would employ, besides our feed and taxes, and we would keep all year. If we would want twenty hands for even six months, we would have $20,000 invested, and the northern man might pay $10 per month for six months—$200, and feed them; if one dies, no loss. Although I do not admire your servants, yet, if I desired money-making, and to go to Kansas, I would prefer selling negroes, and hiring them. I think now, though I may err, without calculation, that whites can make most.

* I hope no unkind design was intended in alluding to these.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

[From The Independent.]

WE give below, over the writer's own signature, the criticism of a citizen of Connecticut upon our recent comments on the Tennessee tragedy. His statement discloses an effect of slavery far more horrible than anything we have yet conceived of. We cannot but hope that he gives a "distorted view" of the licentiousness of Southern plantations, and exaggerates particular cases into a general fact. That the sense of virtue is so utterly extinguished in the negro race as he would have us believe, is a result of slavery more gross and barbarous than we have ever charged upon it. If this be so, in what condition are the thousands of female slaves belonging to churches in the South? and where is the discipline of those churches? We believe that there is many an Edmondson among those slaves. But if Mr. Hoyt is right, we thank him for his disclosures, horrible and revolting as they are. Nothing could speak more loudly the condemnation of slavery than the fact that it destroys in the mind of woman the very instinct of shame. Mr. H. professes to have better means of information than we; and while we repudiate his arguments, and dislike his sneering tone toward degraded women, and his apologetic tone for the master, we give his facts.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Will you allow me a word upon your editorial touching the late revolting murder in Tennessee? While I agree with you in opinion as to the demoralizing tendencies of slavery, the effect of which, on both the white and the coloured races, I have had good opportunities to notice during a residence of some years in the South, I am satisfied that, in common with many at the North, you err in conceding too much virtue to the latter race, and too little to the former. In reference to the murder of the Moore family, you say: "This poor wretch was accustomed to see the virtue of women subdued by force. Perhaps his own mother, or his wife, or sister, had been the victim of the white man's lust. * * * * Such was the training of this poor creature, ignorant, degraded, kept like a brute, with the fiercer passions of a man, accustomed to see *force* assert its right over virtue. He learned his lesson well." This may all be true, but if it be so, the plantation on which this negro received his "raising" was equally remarkable for its stubborn morality and its uncontrollable vice. It had more Dianas among its Dinahs than many others can claim, and subjected its white lords to very unusual necessities. And further, the negro himself had before him examples of a martyr-virtue with which not many of his fellow-bondmen have been favoured, and the sight of which should have made him its indignant and heroic defender, and, let me say, *would* have made him such. Not one negro in a thousand would even for once listen passively to the screams of a mother, wife, or sister, seized upon as the "victim of the white man's lust." Still less would he passively become "accustomed" to the sight of their struggles against brutal violence put forth for such a purpose.

There is no evidence in the present case that the murderer acted under the influence of revenge. It is not hinted that he ever attempted to justify his brutality by the white man's example. Neither revenge nor *such* an example could have kindled the fires of that passion which he sought to gratify. The example, indeed, by which he is assumed to have been influenced could have excited only resentment, which would have laid at rest other passions while it continued in force, and would have restricted itself to its proper object (the master) when gratified. But all the facts of the case, as reported, show that resentment was not the motive which propelled to the bloody deed.

The cause which you assume for this crime is opposed alike to reason and to fact. It is unreasonable to suppose that female slaves should be superior in virtue to their white masters. Look at their social position, so low that anything, even vice, elevates them in their own esteem when they share it with a caste above them. Look at their animal development, attended by no culture of the nobler nature, and dissevered from all those refining associations which belong to the education and the home of the master. Look at the scanty religious instruction they get, so far inferior to that received by the whites. It would be strange if, in such circumstances, virtue found in them its purest exemplars. It would be strange if they should become its martyrs, while their better-educated masters become its betrayers. And such an anomaly, if it ever occurs, is of a very rare occurrence. A thousand to one are the instances in which the degraded bondwoman is a voluntary snare for the white man's virtue. She courts the disgrace which she shares with him, and which is in her estimation an honour. If, in the South, you meet an African mother with a mullatto infant, you meet a proud mother, and a mother envied by those who have no similar evidence to show of the partialities they have had the happiness to win. It is the worst feature of slavery, and its crowning ignomy, that it thus obliterates the sense of virtue and true honour from woman's heart. I should think vastly better of it if it left there enough of principle, and self-respect, and virtuous scorn to repel the vice which is now more frequently coveted and lured.

I would thank the *Independent*, or any other paper, to publish ten well-authenticated cases of the virtue of an American female slave "subdued by force." My own reading, correspondence and other resources of information have failed to bring to my knowledge a single case. A matter so frequently assumed as true, and set so boldly in the foreground of pictures which are given us of slavery, should have at command any amount of testimony. Human sympathy has too many legitimate objects to be thrown away upon the sufferings of imaginary virtue; and our indignation at wickedness and wrong has in slavery too many legitimate incentives to be kindled over wrongs that have no existence. Truth overdrawn becomes falsehood, and is rejected. Let us exhibit evil as it is. Distorted views are sure to suggest wrong ideas. Very truly yours,

JAMES HOYT.
Stamford, Conn., July 17, 1854.

A TALE OF SORROW.

[From The Anti-Slavery Bugle.]

MARTINSVILLE, Belmont Co., Ohio, July 14, 1854.

YESTERDAY we visited an aged coloured woman, living here, who has bitterly experienced the inflictions of slavery, in all its "damned sacraments of sorrow." Raised in Loudon Co., Virginia, she was early married, as slavery understands this institution, and for some years lived with her husband, until the interest of the master required a separation. When the husband was sold for the Southern market, and from the time he was started in the slave gang, she has never heard from him. For weary years she mourned for him, and sorrowed as those who have no hope, wondering why such miseries were visited upon her who had laboured so long and earnestly to do all that was just and right, while her tormentors lived in idleness and ease, safe and saved from those dreaded evils that rankle deepest in the life and heart of a slave. At the command of her master, she was again married, and with her husband lived on the same plantation, until they were sold and removed to Western Virginia, where for many years they lived and raised a large family of children, that were torn from them, one after another, sold, and driven far away, where there could be no interchange of affection, or kindly sympathy for mutual sorrow. Falling into kind hands, when far advanced in years, they succeeded in purchasing themselves, and, by a course of rigid economy and arduous toil, were enabled to pay the full sum demanded by their claimant. Thus, after being robbed of a long life of labour, of nine children whom tenderest love and bitterest sorrows had endeared to them, with intellects crushed and bodies enfeebled by fifty years of hard labour, such as is known only in slavery, they procured the acknowledgment, in this Christian land, that they had the right in themselves to their own labour, their own bodies and souls—that they were *free niggers*. Immediately they set about earning money to purchase some of their children, whom they hoped were still within their reach, and formed bright anticipations of some day living with them in a home purchased by their own industry, where at last they might safely live and quietly die. Animated by these hopes, they commenced life anew, in comparative happiness, free, at least, as they supposed, from any new and further infliction of slavery. But, alas for them! their happiness was only a transitory dream from which they soon awoke to most painful consciousness. Scarcely had they commenced to prosecute the plans they had formed, when the husband was kidnapped from one of the river boats on which he was employed, and for twelve long and bitter years he has been subjected to all the horrors of slavery. Just as he passed the cup of liberty to his lips, it was stricken from his hand, and in its stead he has been compelled to drink the bitterest chalice that human sense can suffer.

With more than a widow's sorrow has this wife mourned for him, toiling on through a dreary life, vainly hoping for his return, to join her in carrying out their fondly cherished hope of a home and happiness with their children; but no tidings ever came to cheer her, and through these long years she has been left

> "Alone to bear
> The rush and pressure of dark thoughts, that came
> As a strong billow in their weight of care;
> And in silence, and in secret, and in night,
> Her noble heart hath wrestled with despair,
> And rose more strong than death from its unwitnessed prayer."

Finally, she has at last heard that away in the south-west, fast sinking beneath the weight of years and heavy sorrow, her husband lives and toils a suffering, heart-broken, hopeless slave, somewhere on the Red River, in Arkansas. But now, indeed, has despair settled quite down upon her. She has not influential friends to interest in his behalf; the journey to find him would be difficult and dangerous, and the proof of his identity difficult to establish, and she has no hope of meeting him again on earth. While she had hope, by almost superhuman exertion, amid difficulties that would have discouraged a heart unused to deepest disappointment, she secured herself a little home, where now, in poverty and sorrow, she is waiting until her change shall come, and she shall have a reunion with her long lost husband in that other land, where the servant is freed from his master, and where all tears are forever wiped from their eyes.

Thus she lives a monument of the curse and crime of American Slavery. Oh! when will this vile system be removed from among us, and good men

> "Rear another altar here,
> To truth, and love, and mercy dear."

C. S. S. GRIFFING.

LAW SUIT ABOUT A SLAVE—MURDER GROWING OUT OF IT.

[From The Vicksburg Whig, July 29.]

IN our last we had a brief notice of the fact that Mrs. Priscilla Vogh, wife of Jacob Vogh, had been cruelly murdered in our city on the evening previous (Wednesday). That notice was written during the investigation of the Coroner's jury, and our paper went to press before we learned that it had returned a verdict that she came to her death by a pistol shot discharged at her by her husband, Jacob Vogh. We mentioned that suspicion, from good cause, attached to the husband, and that he had fled, but more we did not feel authorized or justified in saying until an investigation or examination.

On Thursday morning, Vogh was arrested and lodged in jail, and on yesterday his Honour the Mayor thoroughly investigated the case, so far as it could be examined or determined, and the result was a committal of Vogh to the jail of Warren County, to answer at the next term of the Circuit Court the charge of having murdered his wife, Mrs. Priscilla Vogh. We were not in attendance yesterday upon the examination before the Mayor, which lasted from 11 o'clock, A. M., until a late hour in the afternoon, but we are informed that, notwithstanding the fact that there was no direct proof that Vogh shot his wife, yet the circumstantial evidence was strong enough to justify and demand at the hands of the committing magistrate a full committal for murder, which, of course, precluded bail. No testimony was offered on the part of the defence.

Our city, until within a week or two, has been for a long time so free from all acts of violence or bloodshed, that such a murder as the one of which we now speak, of course, caused great excitement, and shocked the feelings of the whole community.

The parties resided in the country, some four or five miles distant, and it seems that they have for some time been living unhappily together. On Wednesday they had a trial before the Mayor in relation to the ownership, or the right to control the services, of a negro girl. The trial was decided in favour of Mrs. Vogh, and she immediately left the office and went about a square off, with the girl and to where she was staying. Very soon thereafter Vogh started in the same direction, and, as he was very much excited about the result of the trial, and greatly under the influence of liquor, some supposed that his purpose was a bad one—but this belief was not strong enough to induce any one to apprehend any great damage until a shriek was heard, followed by the report of a pistol, and Vogh seen fleeing to his horse, which he mounted and moved rapidly off. Upon getting to the spot from whence the noise and report of the pistol was heard, Mrs. Vogh was found dead in the yard—caused by a pistol ball which had penetrated the heart. Her left hand was also touched by the ball. As no white person witnessed the killing, it is, of course, improper to speak of rumours, or impressions, as to how it occurred. One thing we may state: there was a track of blood from the scene of the murder to Vogh's horse, which was explained, by finding Vogh's left hand shot when he was apprehended.

Very soon after the murder occurred and the flight of Vogh, the Mayor of our city and several citizens commenced a pursuit of him. They at once proceeded to his residence in the country, but finding he did not make his appearance there, they concluded that he was secreted in town. They therefore returned; but as nothing could be heard of him, some eight or ten young men volunteered to scour the country in search of him. About daylight on Thursday morning they ascertained that he had been to his house, and heard that he had returned to Vicksburg, in company with two friends, with a view of delivering himself up forthwith. The Mayor then returned, and in ten minutes after, he was conducted to the house of a sister of Vogh's, where he was arrested and lodged in jail.

Under the circumstances, we cannot pretend to give the testimony, and hope never to have to record such another horrible occurrence.

OUTRAGE BY A SLAVE.

[From The Mobile Advertiser, August 8.]

WE have the particulars of an unprovoked and atrocious outrage committed by a negro on the person of his master, Mr. E. O. Johnson, on the Spring Hill road, about three miles from the city, on Saturday last. It appears that the negro had been absent a week or so without permission, and on his return Mr. Johnson questioned him as to where he had been, &c., to which the negro returned an insolent reply. Mr. Johnson moved towards him for the purpose of tying his hands and conveying him to the city (Mr. Johnson has recently been ill, and was quite weak), when the negro felled him to the ground and stamped upon him with demoniac fury, telling him he intended to take his life. Just then a son of Mr. Johnson hearing the noise, came to his father's assistance, but being in feeble health, the negro soon threw him aside, and returned to his master, who by this time had risen to his feet, whom he again knocked down, and endeavoured to strangle. Mrs. Johnson had by this time reached the scene, and, with great presence of mind, heroically sent a brickbat at the head of the miscreant, which gave him a temporary check. Fortunately, two gentlemen soon came up, and the negro was, of course, seized, bound, brought into town, and lodged in the guard-house.

It appears that the wretch had given some significant hints of his purposes to some of the negroes on the lot, and from his disclosures it is believed that he has been abetted by white persons in the neighbourhood of the city. He has boasted to the negroes of being able to go off a short distance, where he could stay as long as he pleased and be safe from pursuit. If there is any truth in these statements, the matter demands the vigilance of the police, and the whole community is interested in ferreting out and bringing such enemies to our peace (if there are such here) to certain and speedy punishment.

Mr. Johnson is confined to his room on account of the injuries he received, which are severe, though, it is hoped, not dangerous. His son was considerably hurt, but is able to get about. Two knives were found on the person of the negro, and it is said he attempted to draw one before he was arrested. His examination will be had so soon as Mr. Johnson is able to come to town, and he will, we trust, receive the severe punishment he so richly merits.

A SAD STORY.

[From The Columbus (O.) Columbian.]

THE following extraordinary case occurred in Mississippi, under the slave laws of that State.

"A planter was afflicted with a loathsome disease. So offensive were his ulcers that he was deserted by his white friends; and, while thus afflicted and forsaken, a girl, whom he owned as a slave, kindly and patiently waited upon him, dressed his ulcers, cleansed his person, and watched over him until he eventually recovered. With gratitude and affection to his benefactor, he took her to Cincinnati, O., executed to her a deed of manumission, had it recorded, and returned to Mississippi, and there married her in legal form. They lived together affectionately for many years, reared a family of children, and, as he lay upon his death-bed, by will he divided his property between his wife and children. His brothers hearing of his death, came forward and demanded the property. The widow and children were indignant at the demand. They, too, were seized, and the validity of the marriage and will were tried before Judge Sharkey, of that State, who decided that the whole matter was a fraud upon the law of slavery—that the property belonged to the collateral heirs. His widow was sold by his surviving brothers, the children were bid off at public auction, and both mother and children now toil in chains, or sleep in servile graves."

The foregoing "sad story," in all its particulars, was published at the time in the anti-slavery papers of the country, but it failed, at that time, to excite any interest in the papers of the two "great National parties." Times have somewhat changed, and the above seems to be going the rounds of the anti-Nebraska press pretty generally.

There was one point of the decision of Judge Sharkey, in the case, we well remember, not stated in the above brief notice. The emancipation of the faithful woman to whom he owed his life, who ministered to him when all others forsook him, was decided to be not only "a fraud upon the law of slavery," but AN IMMORALITY, and therefore void, because no act involving an immorality could be void!

And now we would like to inquire of some of our Whig brethren of the press, if they are aware of what became of this Judge Sharkey, the author of that most absurd, inhuman and barbarous decision? Was he hurled from the bench, as a disgrace to the name of Justice, and scouted from society, as one who had disgraced the name of humanity? Was he even disowned by the party to which he belonged? and did that party, in its conventions, disclaim its sympathy in, and responsibility for, such an abominable decision? Surely, no party would think of elevating him to a higher post, after such a disgraceful exercise of the attribute of Justice! What, for example, was the relation of the Whig administration of Millard Fillmore to this execrable Judge, and dispenser of Inhumanity? Who, of all the great and good men, in this great nation of sovereigns, should be chosen by Fillmore, as our Consul at Havana, but this veritable Judge Sharkey, two years after this decision had been made and published, to the shame of Justice and the disgrace of the American name!

It is even so. Soon after the promulgation of that decision, Judge Sharkey was called to preside at the Nashville Convention of Southern Disunionists; and not long after that, Millard Fillmore appointed and accredited him as our Consul at Havana, to settle, among other duties devolving upon him, the disturbances that sprung out of the affair of Lopez's fillibustering expedition. "Can such things be, and—not excite our special wonder?"

SLAVERY AS IT IS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Aug, 23, 1854.

HAVING business that has caused me to spend a few days down the Ohio River nearly to its mouth, I have learned a few incidents that have lately taken place connected with the "patriarchal institution," and for what I say I have the proof.

A few miles from Evansville, Ind., lived a man, the reputed owner of some three or four boys. He died, and in his will gave liberty to the boys. They had been living in Indiana some six years, when some one of the heirs, I believe, thinking he could hold one or all, came to the Sheriff in Evansville (his name is Gavitt), and offered him $200 if he would find this boy. Gavitt heard of him in a town called Vincennes; but, before he had time to get him, the slaveholder found where he was, and, wishing to save his $200, went and kidnapped the boy, and brought him to the ferry at Evansville, where he was met by Gavitt and his deputy, armed with pistols and bowie-knives. The slaveholder compromised by giving the Sheriff $150—carried the boy a few miles down on the Kentucky side, and sold him for $600. Yet this boy, by the laws of Kentucky, was free! The other boys, not feeling safe, took the Underground Railroad, and are now in Canada, where there is *some* justice.

This transaction took place about six months ago. Gavitt's term for Sheriff is about to expire, and he wishes to be reelected;—has been nominated, acknowledges he has helped to take back some thirty or forty slaves, but now thinks he did very wrong and won't do so any more (until after election). Some of the Friends are trying to do something to redeem the boy, but the prospect is very dark, as they know not where he is.

There are men that make it their business to catch negroes. If they find one who looks as if he were a fugitive, they take him without any authority, keep him until a reward is offered, and then deliver him, gloating over their ill-gotten gains. A free man applied for passage on the railroad in Jeffersonville. Not having his free papers with him, some men, supposing him to be a slave, seized him; when he resisted, they struck him down, beat and bruised him, tore his clothes and cut a very bad gash in his arm; and, when he was faint from loss of blood, dragged him over to Louisville Jail, there to keep him until he could prove himself free.

In conversation with Lawyer Joliffe, a very prominent man in Cincinnati, he said, having heard that Fainbanks was treated very cruelly, and being acquainted with the agent elect, he endeavoured to enlist his sympathies in his behalf, but found this man resolved on severer treatment, if possible, than his predecessor. One of the most prominent citizens of Jeffersonville, Ind., opposite Louisville, who is acquainted with the facts in the case, told me that the proceedings against Fainbanks were entirely illegal. I learned there also that Fainbanks was treated very harshly, but what better can be expected from baby-stealers and women-whippers?

A mechanic who had been down to Louisiana as a painter, returning home to Pittsburgh, conversing about the South, manners, customs, &c., but not knowing my sentiments on the subject of slavery, told me he used to deny that slavery was very bad; but his mind had changed after witnessing the conduct of slaveholders. As an instance: the man he worked for had a slave that used to drink too much. Once, when he was under the influence of liquor, this negro's old master came to visit the master; the negro was so overjoyed to see him, that he threw his arms about his neck, fell to kissing and hugging him, much to his annoyance. His master, seeing it, found a rope, flung it about his slave's neck, dragged him to one of the pillars of his house, threw the rope about the pillar, pulling him up so that he was so much strangled that when let loose he fell to the ground; he (the master) took a hand-saw and, stripping him, gave him sixty blows well laid on, raising large blisters, as large as the hand-saw. His rage seemed to increase as he whipped him. He then took a whip and gave him 150 lashes. So severe was the infliction, the negro was likely to die. This was but a few days ago. So you see the Legrees are not all dead yet. How a guilty conscience goads to madness. A friend (white man) went to see a coloured family that were all free. He inquired of a white man the way. This man jumped on his horse and alarmed the neighbourhood. They assembled, and would have mobbed him, but he wisely returned about six miles and thus escaped their hands.

A mother slightly deranged lost her child by death. She goes to the shore gazing ever to Kentucky; she thinks the slaveholders have kidnapped him, and mourns for her child as a slave.

E. P. B.

SLAVERY—BY ONE WHO KNOWS.

Extract from a Private Letter.

NEW ORLEANS, 1854.

MY anxiety is great that the opposers of slavery should stand up manfully to their parts of duty, and boldly, fearlessly and obstinately reject everything that yields any advantage to the grinding system of slavery.

In the course of my duties last week, I had occasion to pass round three squares, where I came in contact with four negro traders' yards, and I was told that two others were near. I was invited to purchase, and favoured the idea, to see the spectacle. There, long rows of fine-looking young men and women, seated on benches, were, by the word of command, "form the line," brought to their feet for my inspection. A friend was with me. I have no comment to make upon it! In God's own time such savage sights, I trust, will cease, but we are not to forget that God works by means, and we are his agents, and most sincerely do I hope that He will give us wisdom that is according to knowledge, for we have keen-sighted and unscrupulous opponents in this war of human right. Every act that is not according to knowledge is caught up with triumph to sustain their cause. A young man, who was in one of those yards, came to say good bye to me. He was sold to go to Texas, leaving in my family a wife, with two children, and his father. From *The Daily Picayune*, of Jan. 26 or 27, I cut out the twelve notices concerning the traffic in men and women, which I inclose, that you may see how spiritedly the traffic goes on. The very high prices that slaves now command bring them here in hordes. Think you that the Southern people will not strongly contend for such large gains to administer to their luxuries. They certainly will! Some are found that would not; but when Northern Christians come in to silence their half convicted views of the wrongs of slavery, their consciences are hushed, and they say the Bible sanctions it. Good people tell us so. Christian editors tell us so.

O, that the Northern people would awake to what is right! And instead of condemning truth when it comes, as Mrs. Stowe presented it, saying we will not apologize for such wickedness; we will make war upon it! Will it cease if it is fostered? Will such notices as Bishop Kip's, which I inclose, help to extinguish slavery? Who that have reasoning minds do not know that it will take time to train a degraded, crushed, irresponsible population to habits of industry, when the lash ceases and the urging up to labour stops? Then their beau-ideal of enjoyment commences in relaxed labour. Had they our intelligence, it would not be so.

According to this doctrine, when shall they begin to be fitted for freedom? From a gentleman who resided three years in Jamaica, I had a very satisfactory account of much progress being made by the blacks. He had seen schools among them and thought them doing quite as well as their circumstances would warrant expectation.

I have lived a long time in the midst of slavery. I am interested in it, but I hate it; and I believe it is the abominable thing that God hates, and I intend to exert whatever influence I have or may have against it. To hold the slaves till they can be freed and taught, I am willing, but let all good people be pressing forward to that object. If convicted consciences, North or South, would boldly decide against slavery, the work of emancipation would be half accomplished.

Do not let one other foot of land in our America ever be trodden by a bondman with his will. Do not let the friends of slavery out-general you in Washington. I know that the fears of rupture keep back prudent people; but it strikes me that many Constitutional points could be insisted on by the opposers of slavery that would very much weaken the system if they were brought out and acted upon; and as the friends of slavery have cried, *Constitution, Constitution*, might not the opposers of slavery have the same privilege?

P. S. I have just this moment cut an extract from the *Washington Sentinel*, out of the *Bulletin*, criticising G. S.'s speech, in which he says, "They would amalgamate races that God made distinct." Where do they amalgamate? Come here and you will see.—[*Tribune*.

WAGES OF A LIFE-TIME.—Messrs. E. A. & J. W. Merritt, of Augusta Co., Ga., have erected a large and handsome marble tomb-stone over the grave of a servant, with the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Billy Martin, the faithful servant of John Merritt."

JUSTICE BY INSTINCT.—However zealously a negro seeks to affect innocence, the eye always betrays guilt and a great evil capacity. Bill, the slave of Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, who stole the coat and $5 from Richard, a slave of T. Cauthorn, who works on board the canal boat Glazebrook, was ordered thirty by the Mayor on yesterday, in disregard of the most solemn protestations of innocence on the part of Bill. There was an amount of villany reflected in his eyes that could well contradict all the protestations he would utter for a month.—*Richmond Whig*.

SHOT BY HIS MASTER AND BURIED DEEP.—*Cooksville (Miss.), July 22.*—A few days since, William McRee, an old citizen of Noxubee Co., shot one of his negro men, so that in about two hours he died; he was in the woods. When the negro died, he sent for his wagon, had the body put into it and conveyed to the corner of a field or fence corner; there dug a hole some eighteen feet deep, and rolled the body in, face downward, and covered it up. Through the other negroes the facts were made public, and on the 18th inst. he was arrested, and on the 19th he was taken to Macon for examination. His son was a witness to the killing, and the only white one. He is thought to have disappeared from the country.
—*Cor. of The Mobile Trib.* SUMPTER.

CRUELTY TO A SLAVE.—The Lexington (Mo.) *Express* has an account of the death of a slave at the hands of his master, Josephus Hicklin, from which we make the following extract: "The only fault alleged against the negro was that he was dissatisfied with his master, and wanted to be sold, and that he was lazy. For these alleged offences the negro was put to the torture. Outside of the Book of Martyrs it would be hard to find any case that, in point of cruelty, affords a parallel to this. Mrs. Stowe's imagination furnishes no case upon which this is not an improvement. The lash, fire, gouging, beating over the head with heavy clubs, and rubbing of cayenne pepper and tobacco in his eyes, &c., were some of the appliances used, not for a single hour, a single day, or a single week, but every day, for more than three weeks, until he died." The fiend has not yet been arrested.

RECOVERED THEIR FREEDOM.—The three negro boys (says the Fredericksburg *Herald*) referred to by us some weeks ago, as instituting suit for their freedom in Madison County, through the interposition of some right-minded guardians of the public weal, gained their point by a decision on Saturday. It seems they were born in Fredericksburg and taken to raise by some one, who afterwards went to Madison. Their identity and the fact of their being born free was lost sight of, and, the person dying who had them in charge, his creditors seized on his property, together with these boys, James, John and Joe. Mr. William Slaughter and Mr. John Timberlake procured funds to send witnesses from this place to testify to the facts in the case, and William L. Early, Esq., appeared as volunteer counsel in their defence. After the decision that they were entitled to their freedom, they were bound out by the Court until they are each twenty-one years of age.

A VIRGINIA LEGREE.—Slavery, we are told, is mild in Virginia. The Boston *Commonwealth* contains a letter from Nelson Co., in that State, which explains what is meant by the phrase. The outrage described occurred on the 18th of July, 1854:

"I had not thought that so heart-rending a scene from 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' would come under my own observation. Day before yesterday, a slave, a young man in the prime of life, was whipped to death by an overseer on a plantation in the neighbourhood. '*He was worth* $1.000.' The overseer tied him in the barn and beat him for four hours. I am told that he was whipped for a very trifling offence. When so exhausted that he fainted, the poor fellow was washed with brine; then whipped and washed again. This was repeated six times. He was tied up soon after breakfast, and was released about one o'clock, and sent out in the field to work. He fainted in the field. A shower came up, and he contrived to get into the barn, where he died. While the overseer was beating him, he begged him to shoot him; while he could speak, he kept moaning, 'Oh, pray, massa! Oh, pray, massa!' His master and mistress are not at home. There is great indignation in the neighbourhood against the overseer, but what they will do about it I cannot say. This is not the first Legree I have heard tell about, but is the first genuine Legree case that has fallen under my observation. The overseer has not been arrested, and moves about as if he had done nothing uncommon."

A MAN WHIPPED FOR HELPING A NEGRO TO ESCAPE.—On Friday last, we heard that, on Wednesday evening a man had been very severely lynched in Wellington. We immediately went to that place to inquire into the particulars. The facts of the case are substantially as follows: Col. John M. Lewis and Mr. Fackler, of Saline Co., had each a runaway negro. They followed the fugitives into Jackson County, where they were captured. Col. Lewis had his slave handcuffed, and the other was at liberty. At Wellington the owners of the slaves stopped for dinner; while the negroes framed an excuse for going to the stable. In the stable, a white man, by the name of Wm. T. Dowal, induced Lewis's slave to go into the stable loft, where he was covered up by the white man under a large pile of sheave oats. It was soon discovered by the statement of Fackler's negro, and one belonging to Mr. Major, where the negro was concealed, and on a second search he was found. The man was immediately arrested under a warrant and taken before Mr. Justice Hook, who committed him to jail, and delivered him into the custody of the township constable. Upon this the citizens appointed twelve men summarily to decide upon the case. They sentenced him to receive twenty-five stripes with a cowhide over the shirt, and immediately to leave the State. The stripes were duly inflicted, and the fellow left town with an order to come to Lexington and take passage on the steamer J. H. Lucas, for Illinois, with a promise that the citizens of Wellington would pay his passage. The guilt of Dowal was apparent to all; yet, independent of the evidence of the negroes, there was hardly enough positive evidence against him to convict him in a court of justice.—*Lexington (Mo.) Express.*

EGGING A MAN IN MISTAKE.—Some time since, an itinerant lecturer, who gave his name as Graham, passed through the interior of Kentucky, and was suspected of having seduced a number of slaves to leave their masters and run for Canada. The masters, if they had caught him, would have inflicted summary punishment, but he managed to escape, and has not since been heard from. A few days since, however, a very honest and worthy gentleman, who resides in Preble County, Ohio, and who also glories in the name of Graham, hearing that court was about being held at Cynthiana, Ky., concluded to visit that place, to introduce among the farmers who would probably be present a new and valuable plough which he had invented. In pursuance of this resolution, he went to Cynthiana last week and exhibited his plough, which was generally commended, but some suspicious fellow, having discovered that the stranger's name was Graham, at once concluded he was the abolition lecturer, and denounced him. A crowd soon collected, and some one asserted that the stranger had been seen conversing with negroes, and this settled the case against him. All his protestations and remonstrances were disregarded. His demands for time to produce witnesses as to his character and business were set down as attempts at evasion, and his demands for a jury trial as subterfuges to escape, and, despite his resistance, he was seized by the mob, and more than a bushel of all sorts of eggs thrown upon him. His face, except a large circle around each eye, was then blackened with indellible ink, and he was advised to leave the State of Kentucky as quickly as possible. He took the hint, and came in by the Covington and Lexington railroad, yesterday, but his garments were in a very questionable condition, and the darkness of his countenance was not to be dispelled by soap and water.—*Cincinnati Columbian, August* 16.

ATTEMPTED OUTRAGE BY NEGROES.—Through a private letter from Liberty, received last night, we are informed of a daring outrage which was attempted to be perpetrated by a free negro and a slave upon the daughters of a gentleman of high respectability and standing in that place. The circumstances, we are informed, are substantially these: The free negro and the slave entered the house of Mr. Hugh White, on Wednesday night last, during his absence from home, and the free boy got into bed with two of his daughters, they being asleep, and at the same time the slave was making his way to the bed of another. The girls were awakened by noise in the room, and the ruffians discovered in their attempt to carry out their fiendish purpose. The alarm was given, the scoundrels arrested and immediately put in jail—they both acknowledged that their object was to violate the persons of the young ladies. These latter were very young—the oldest not exceeding fifteen years. Such was the indignation and excitement of the people of Liberty, that a public meeting was immediately called, at which Col. C. A. Wingfield presided, Messrs. Johnson and Burks making speeches, and summary punishment decreed against the offenders, which was forthwith carried into execution. The free boy was ordered to be castrated, which was promptly done by the physicians of the place, and the slave was whipped to the utmost point of human endurance. These proceedings may appear harsh and violent, and so they are; but not more so than the crimes of the insolent ruffians demanded. The attempted outrage was of the most heinous and aggravated character, and merited the severest and quickest punishment. We are the advocates and defenders of mob law under all such circumstances; and the only thing we blame the citizens of Liberty for in this matter is, that they did not instantly hang the vile wretches instead of punishing them as they did. Hanging would have been altogether just and infinitely more appropriate. We rejoice, nevertheless, that severe and summary punishment was inflicted. Neither the public heart nor the public judgment anywhere in the South is disposed to rebuke or censure men for acting as the citizens of Liberty have done. They did their duty—nothing more.—*Richmond Whig, August* 5.

ANOTHER MODEL LETTER.—We see it stated in various papers that the following letter was actually received in Oberlin, Ohio, from an old acquaintance in Georgia, and, the parties all being known there, it was published in the *Oberlin Evangelist*. Its authenticity was never questioned:

"B——, Georgia, Sept. 4, 1845.

"DEAR SIR: I take up my pen to write to you once more, though it is not I that write, but the Lord that writeth through me. Permit me to inform you that since I wrote to you last I have come out and embraced the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, and am now living in the light and liberty of the children of God. We have had quite an interesting church meeting here last week in relation to Deacon D——. It was thought by many that he would be disfellowshipped, but finally his case was set forth in such a vivid light by the influential members of the church, our pastor among the rest, he was honourably discharged. For fear you will think the case worse than it is, I will just state the facts (although that you are such an Abolitionist, I suppose you will think it bad enough as it is). The Deacon had an old slave that had been in the habit of running away, but had always been caught, until finally, about two weeks ago, he made another escape. No sooner was the old thing missing than cousin H—— borrowed neighbour P——'s hounds and started in search of him. He had not proceeded far in the woods before he found the old man perched upon a limb of a large tree. He ordered him several times to come down, but the old man, stubborn as an ass, still maintained his position. The deacon then becoming excited, fired his gun at him. The ball passed through his ankle, and mangled it in such a manner that it mortified and he died. But as I have before stated, our good pastor (may the Lord bless his soul) held for the justification of the deacon in such a vivid and heaven-approving style that he was discharged upon the ground that he had a right to do what he pleased with his own property—a judgment that would have been passed by any righteous man. Your uncle J—— buried his youngest child last week. Your cousin W—— thought some of studying at Oberlin, but it is such an Abolition hole, I do not think his father will let him go. I have partly bargained for about fifty slaves belonging to Mr. ——. If I can get them as cheap as I expect to, I shall make profit on them, for I understand that the Orleans market is quite good now. I expect to send them down as soon as my driver recovers; for in flogging one of my old slaves the other day, he received a very severe wound from him, he having struck him with his hoe, whereupon the driver instantly drew his pistol from his pocket and shot him dead upon the spot, a fate which he justly merited. From his extreme age (being nearly 80 years old) I considered his death a gain and not a loss to me.

"In your last you spoke of visiting us next year. If you come, I pray you to leave your Abolitionism behind and show yourself a man. It is now time to go to prayer-meeting, and I must close. My wife joins me in love to you.

"Yours, J. F. F."

Selections.

A "PRIME" MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

THE Rev. Samuel Irenæus Prime (recently dubbed D.D., as a reward for servility, by a Virginia College), editor of the New York *Observer*, has recently been travelling in Europe. In a certain German city, he visited a gambling "hell," and gives a glowing account of what he there witnessed. He says, by way of prelude to what is to follow: "*I am intensely interested in studying the game* and the company." But the chief *attraction* of the scene to our worthy D.D. is sketched after this fashion: "I have been watching with more interest than any of these *a woman of rare beauty*, at the corner of the table in front of me." * * * "Dressed in rich black silk, and with a neat collar, stomacher, and scarf, she would be taken for a lady had she less jewelry; but those bracelets, and chains, and charms, are rather too rich and many for such a place." Then follows a vivid description of how she played and lost, after which the Reverend Doctor proceeds on this wise: "Involuntarily *my sympathies were with her, and I was wishing she might be the winner every throw she made.* Who was she? Nobody but a gay, *ruined*, wretched woman, one of thousands thronging these watering places, bankrupt in fortune and *reputation*; the least of their vices is gaming; and if the *love of money was the worst of their passions, they would be as pure as they are beautiful*." There! gentle reader, you have a picture of the amusements of an American pro-slavery Doctor of Divinity, on foreign travel, and of the objects which excite his *sympathies*, sketched by his own hand. Isn't it a delectable affair? A grave D.D. sitting for hours in a gambling "hell," "studying the game with intense interest," but chiefly attracted by a good-looking harlot, and having his sympathies strongly drawn to her, not in compassion for her unspeakably wretched and hopeless condition, and in efforts to raise her from "the horrible pit," but in the *exalted* and *pious* wish that she might "win every throw!"

But perhaps the most remarkable thing of all, in this very remarkable effusion, is the last sentence of the above extract: "Were the love of money the worst passion" of these prostitutes, "they would be as *pure* as they are *beautiful*"—that is to say, they would possess characters of *rare* purity inasmuch as they are "*rarely beautiful*." It is true, the Apostle declares the "love of money to be the root of *all* evil." But, as the old lady said, "that is just where Paul and Dr. Prime differ." If the worst thing about these handsome fancy German ladies was that love of pelf which is the foundation of all crime, they would fill Dr. Prime's ideal of a pure female character.

But, after all, we are not surprised at this exhibition of the *taste* and *principles* of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Irenæus Prime. This worthy "Divine" is a most trenchant champion of that "peculiar" American "institution" which deals occasionally in just such fancy articles as this handsome German harlot; the only difference being that the prostitution of the latter was voluntary, while that of the American article is forced. It is not, therefore, to be expected that he should have very nice perceptions of female "*purity*," but we *would* expect that he would be a pretty keen judge of female "*beauty*." Slavery holds the former at a discount and the latter at a premium. And Dr. Prime holding Slavery to be divine, it is the most natural thing in the world that he should esteem what it values and depreciate what it underrates. Perhaps the Doctor was calculating, like a genuine Yankee, how much this splendid animal would bring in the New Orleans market; and possibly this may have been one cause of the "intense interest" with which he regarded her.

The influence of the New York *Observer* on the youth who read it, and who look to it for counsel in the conduct of life, must be fatally pernicious. Will they not reason in this way: "Our editor, a grave and Reverend Dr. of Divinity, goes to a gambling 'hell,' sits for hours 'intensely in-

terested in studying the game and the company,' giving his especial attention and '*sympathy*' to a beautiful prostitute, earnestly desiring not that she may be converted and saved, but that she may 'win every throw,' and thus have her terribly depraved passions both gratified and stimulated, and also obtain the means of running to still greater excess of riot; therefore we may do the same. Hereafter we will make the tricks of the gambler our intense study, and the handsome but infamous women of the 'hells' the objects of our profoundest sympathies." The mind recoils from the abyss of ruin to which the words and the example of this Rev. D.D. thus tend to lure the young and the unwary.

We have long thought that we should as soon put the "Age of Reason" into the hands of youth as the New York *Observer*. That opinion is abundantly confirmed by this late exhibition of the morals of its editor.—*Free Presbyterian.*

WHY IS CUBA TO BE ANNEXED?

It is not often that the real motive of the acquisition of Cuba is openly acknowledged by its advocates. In the following article, which we find in the Richmod *Penny Post* of last Friday, the truth is told without disguise. While such prints as the Washington *Union* and Richmond *Enquirer* pretend that it is necessary that we should possess Cuba in order to put an end to the wrongs endured by our commerce in her ports and on her coasts, the obscurer journals like the *Penny Post* frankly admit that the true object of annexing Cuba is the aggrandizement of the slave interest:

"FREE AND SLAVE STATES.—The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Ledger* states that there is no probability of either Nebraska or Kansas becoming a slave State. Of the emigrants who are going there in large numbers there are ten from free States to one from a slave State. The people having to decide the matter, there is scarcely a doubt that both of these territories will be admitted as free States into the Union.

"The same correspondent says that there are five other territories which will, in course of time, also come in as free States. These are Minnesota, Washington, Oregon, New Mexico and Utah. There are now sixteen free and fifteen slave States. Add the five above mentioned, together with Nebraska and Kansas, and there is a probability of having twenty-three free States against fifteen in which slavery exists.

"The prospect of such a preponderance should cause the South to seriously consider this matter, and see how it can be obviated. Texas may be divided into three or four slave States, but this would leave us still in the minority. A slave State may be formed of the lower part of California, but the balance of power would still be against us. In view of these facts, what course should the South pursue? The Senate has been always, and with great justice, considered the conservative branch of the legislature. With a majority of ten or fifteen against the South in the Senate, what security would we have against aggressions upon our constitutional rights, or the repeal of all laws protecting us in the employment of our slave property?

"With this prospect before us, the acquisition of the island of Cuba becomes a subject of the greatest importance. Independent of the commercial advantages to be secured by the possession of so rich a prize, there are considerations of a political character which are of still greater moment. We are disposed to think that the people of the South have not attached sufficient importance to this preservation of their political equality. A heavy majority against us in the Senate would, beyond a doubt, lead to the destruction of all the constitutional safe-guards of the peculiar institution. It is not the part of wisdom to shut our eyes to the future and trust to chance or good fortune. On the contrary, the true statesmen anticipates the future, and guards in advance against results which would prove disastrous unless foreseen and provided for."

SLAVERY IN WESTERN NEW YORK.—Emigrants from Virginia and Maryland introduced into Western New York, in the early years of its settlement, in all, probably, from four to five hundred slaves. The masters of most of them were located in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Bath, Lyons and Sodus; there were a few in Canandiagua, Palmyra, Genesee, and, we believe, Buffalo. The largest proportion of them were employed in agriculture. It proved, in almost every instance, a bad investment. The masters who were not made bankrupts by the employment of slave labour were only saved from it by the arrival of the period of manumission. The labour of clearing up the heavy forest and subduing the soil of Western New York was "too much like work" to be suited to the nature, the habits and inclinations of the enslaved race. Never were the arbitrary laws of climate, soil and productions which govern "slavery extension" in a far greater degree than can Congressional "compromises," and everywhere has and everywhere will continue to determine the question, more clearly demonstrated.

As early as 1806 or '7, a Marylander, with five or six slaves, cast his and their lot in the heavy forest of what is now Wyoming County. His "institution" came in direct conflict with what Mr. Bancroft terms the "freedom of the backwoods"; the new settlers, his neighbours, "roughing it in the bush," with ideas of the largest liberty, helped to add new proof to the axiom in political economy, that free labour and slave labour can never be made to harmonize; they neither relished their co-labourers nor the aristocratic relation of master and slave. There were frequent interferences with the Marylander's "domestic concerns"; "underground railroads" traversed the dark forests in the direction of the Black Rock ferry; one by one the slaves disappeared; sometimes they were overtaken and brought back; but they were "hard to catch, and good for nothing when caught." We well remember an affray between the master and one of his slaves, in which a butcher-knife was used, and the master came out minus a thumb. Slavery faded away in that neighbourhood long before the year of final manumission by the laws of the State, as did the fortunes of the slaveholders.

Slavery and slave labour was about as impracticable in Western New York as it is in all of Nebraska and a large portion of Kansas.—*Niagara Democrat, August* 24.

NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AND SOUTH.—Newspapers are the very body of the times, the exponents of the business and intellectual activity of the community. If a city is provincial in its habits of thought or business, acknowledging another city as its financial or political capital, or if it is really a metropolis, spinning the web of its own destiny from its own abundant vitals, this is revealed in the columns of its daily papers. If a section of a country is inferior in intelligence, but predominant in politics, the circulation of its periodicals will be limited, while their tone will be rude and arrogant

Henry A. Wise once thanked God, in Congress, that there was no newspaper published in his district. There are many other Southern districts in a similar state of destitution. At the date of the last census, there were six slaveholding States in which there was no daily paper. The weeklies have a very limited circulation. All the periodicals of large circulation are published in the North. Take any ten weeklies in the South, and the aggregate of their editions would not equal that of the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post* or of the *New York Weekly Tribune*. In magazine literature, *Putnam's Monthly* has a larger circulation than all the Southern magazines together, while *Harper's* nearly doubles *Putnam's*.

We have made out, from the last census, a statement of the daily and other periodical publications in the different States of the Union.

FREE STATES.	Daily.	Others.	Total.
Maine	4	45	49
New Hampshire	0	38	38
Vermont	2	33	35
Massachusetts	22	187	209
Rhode Island	5	14	19
Connecticut	7	39	46
New York	51	377	428
New Jersey	6	45	51
Pennsylvania	24	286	310
Illinois	8	99	107
Indiana	9	98	107
Ohio	26	235	261
Michigan	3	55	58
Wisconsin	6	40	46
Iowa	0	29	29
California	4	3	7
	177	1623	1800
SLAVE STATES.			
Delaware	0	10	10
Maryland	6	62	68
District of Columbia	5	13	18
Virginia	15	72	87
North Carolina	0	51	51
South Carolina	7	39	46
Georgia	5	46	51
Florida	0	10	10
Alabama	6	54	60
Mississippi	0	50	50
Louisiana	11	44	55
Texas	0	34	34
Arkansas	0	9	9
Tennessee	8	42	50
Kentucky	9	53	62
Missouri	5	56	51
	78	645	722
RECAPITULATION.	Daily.	Others.	Total.
Free States	177	1623	1800
Slave States	77	645	722

BRING BACK THE CHAIN.

BY THE HON. MRS. NORTON.

It was an aged man, who stood
Beside the blue Atlantic sea:
They cast his fetters by the flood,
And hailed the time-worn captive free!
From his indignant eye there flashed
A gleam his better nature gave,
And while his tyrants shrunk abashed,
Thus spoke the spirit-stricken slave:

"Bring back the chain, whose weight so long
These tortured limbs have vainly borne;
The word of Freedom from your tongue
My weary ear rejects with scorn!
'Tis true, there was—there was a time
I sighed, I panted to be free;
And panting for my sunny clime
Bowed down my stubborn knee.

"*Then* I have stretched my yearning arms,
And shook in wrath my bitter chain;—
Then, when the magic word had charms,
I groaned for liberty in vain!
That freedom ye at length bestow,
And bid me bless my envied fate:
You tell me I am free to go—
Where?—I am desolate!

"The boundless hope—the spring of joy,
Felt when the spirit's strength is young,
Which slavery only can alloy,—
The mockeries to which I clung—
The eye, whose fond and sunny ray
Made life's dull lamp less dimly burn—
The tones I pined for, day by day,—
Can ye bid them return?

"Bring back the chain! its clanking sound
Hath then a power beyond your own;
It brings young visions smiling round,
Too fondly loved—too early flown!
It brings me days, when these dim eyes
Gazed o'er the wild and swelling sea,
Counting how many suns must rise
Ere one might hail me free!

"Bring back the chain! that I may think
'Tis that which weighs the spirit so,
And, gazing on each galling link,
Dream as I dreamt of bitter woe!
My days are gone: of hope, of youth,
These traces now alone remain,
Hoarded with sorrow's sacred truth,
Tears, and my iron chain!

"Freedom! though doomed in pain to live,
The freedom of the soul *is* mine;
But all of slavery you can give
Around my steps must ever twine.
Raise up the head which age hath bent;
Renew the hopes that childhood gave;
Bid all return kind Heaven once lent,—
Till then—I am a slave!"

THE MIXED POPULATION OF NEW ORLEANS.—A letter from New Orleans, addressed to *Le Républicain*, has some interesting matter respecting the population of mixed blood in that city. It alludes to the brilliant feat of arms of Dec. 20, 1814, "when the coloured population rivalled the bravery and patriotism of the other improvised soldiers," and to the battle of January 8, of the same year, where they figured and contributed to finish the foreign invasion of our soil, and goes on to say that it is an error to confound the coloured population of Louisiana with that elsewhere. They constitute, the writer affirms, an élite set, having nothing in common with those of the surrounding States. "The French and Spanish blood from which they are sprung has not degenerated among us; it has preserved the primitive warmth and generosity which distinguish those two chivalric nations." Notwithstanding they are not allowed to participate in the public schools, although forced to pay school taxes, they have, however, received an elementary education, and a good number of them shine in science, arts and letters. There is, we are told, at this moment at Paris a "creole" of Louisiana who is walking in the steps of Alexander Dumas, and whose dramatic pieces are represented at the *Théatre Français*. There is another in Louisiana who has effected a complete revolution in sugar-making, by an invention which he has introduced into refining. And yet this man has not been able to obtain a patent in his own name for the invention which enriches his country. "Medicine, music, finance, wholesale commerce and farming, have their representatives in this class of society, and there are in Louisiana fortunes honourably acquired by their proprietors, belonging to this class, which would secure for their owners a distinguished rank in Parisian society were they to settle in that capital. I will not speak here," says the letter writer, "of the native citizens reputed to be *bons blancs*. They are very few, if we may believe an old creole of the highest respectability, who said upon 'Change that he knew more than *five hundred* persons of this sort sprung from maroon negresses, and now enjoying the rights of citizenship." (This reminds us of the facts turning up about "nigger blood" in the late Pandelly trial.) The writer proceeds to remark how pure blood is mistaken for mixed, and the reverse, and concludes by strictures on the hideous injustice of the present exclusive system.—*Tribune.*

THE CONSTITUTION—THE FUGITIVE CLAUSE.—Gerrit Smith, in a late speech, put forth an elaborate argument to free the Constitution of the United States from the charge of being for slavery. He takes up the fugitive clause, and, after a minute argument, which we do not propose to review—it is but a repetition of statements hundreds of times refuted—he proceeds to say:

"This clause, when its insertion was first moved, contained the word 'slave.' But, with that word in it, it met with such strenuous opposition as to compel the immediate withdrawal of the motion. The next day, however, it was offered again, but with the word 'slave' struck out. In this amended and harmless form it was adopted immediately, without debate, and unanimously."

Mr. S. adduces this fact as proving that the clause as it now stands does not include slaves. The true conclusion is just the reverse. How can we believe that a clause which was proposed *for the very purpose* of reclaiming fugitive *slaves* could pass unanimously, and without debate, if its entire purpose had been changed? Might not the blind even see that the term "service" was adopted as a less odious term, but equally suitable, inasmuch as it comprehends the "service" of those in "servitude," or slavery? Mr. Smith also argues from the word "owe," arguing that a slave can owe nothing. What miserable sophistry! The truth is, while slave-laws *try* to reduce *men to things*, it is impossible to do so, even in the language of laws. There is still a conviction of the slave's manhood, and this comes out in the terms of the law or the constitutional provision. We still hope that this eminent orator and philanthropist will work clear of all these entanglements, and come to take his stand outside of the Constitution, with God and the slave.—*Covenanter.*

MISS MARTINEAU ON KOSSUTH.—The Kossuth and Sanders correspondence, to which I called your attention last week, has produced a magnificent letter, in the *Daily News*, from (I have no doubt) Miss Martineau, who employs the *nom de guerre* of "A Republican." She exposes with the faithfulness of an Apostle the immorality of Kossuth's non-interference doctrine, and, with the skill of a true logician, she utterly demolishes his weak and insincere arguments.

"It is remarkable," says she, "that Kossuth does not appear to see as Mazzini does, that the owners of men can never be effectual champions of Human Freedom. * * * Now, M. Kossuth may write to the Americans that he will not recognise any divisions, but not the less, publicly, do these divisions exist. He may say that he looks to the brotherhood of the whole people as an undivided body of sincere Republicans, but he will not make one man on earth forget that there is a whole race within the bounds of that Republic who are held in no brotherhood at all; and that some of these 'sincere Republicans,' while advocating the rights of free thought over brute obedience in Europe, are enforcing that 'brute obedience,' at all risks, in America. No; this infidelity to principle and truth is not the way to advance the cause of liberty anywhere, or under any circumstances. To perceive and tell the truth, and to sympathize with the genuine Republicans, instead of insulting by ignoring them, is the only way to serve the good cause, either in Europe or America."

There is some good talk for you. I wonder how that precious Republican, Mr. Sanders, liked it. He is quite silent. F. W. CHESSON.
—*Wesleyan.*

THE VALUE OF FREEDOM.—The city article of the *Times* informed us, one day last week, that

"One of the largest diamonds known was deposited yesterday at the Bank of England, by a London house, to whom it was consigned from Rio Janeiro. Its weight is 254 carats, and its estimated value, according to the scale, £280,000. It is said to be of the finest water, and without flaw, and was found by a negro slave, who received his freedom as a reward."

Freedom is, we know, beyond all price, and we can scarcely be surprised at its having been changed at the comparatively moderate sum of £280,000 to a negro in Rio Janeiro. Nevertheless, as an article is worth only what it will fetch, and as slaves are to be had for a few pounds, we can hardly see the principle on which a negro who had found property worth £280,000 should have been mulcted of the whole, and then presented with that which he might have purchased any day for less than a two-thousandth part of the sum alluded to. The negro is, perhaps, perfectly satisfied. But we fancy that if we had fallen in with such a valuable "find," we should hardly have been content if somebody had walked up, taken possession of our treasure, and then informed us we were at liberty to go wherever we thought proper. It is evident that they manage these things in Rio Janeiro more summarily, if not altogether better, than in England.—*Punch.*

STANDARD OFFICE REMOVED.—The Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from 142 to 138 Nassau street, on the corner of Beekman, and directly over the Counting Room of the *Daily Times*. The new office, like the old one, is at the head of the first flight of stairs, first door after turning to the right.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 9, 1854.

☞ SPECIAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—In accordance with a vote passed at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, in May last, its Executive Committee hereby give notice, that a Special Meeting of the Society will be held in Syracuse, N. Y., on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, September 29 and 30 (commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.), to which all who deplore the existence of slavery in our country are cordially invited, whatever may be their views as to the best mode of effecting the overthrow of this terrible system of wrong and outrage. Our platform is free to all who choose to stand upon it—to slaveholders and their apologists, as well as to those who are for the immediate liberation of all who are in bondage—as we believe our cause to be holy and invincible, our principles eternal and immutable, and our measures wise and effective. Wherein we err, either in sentiment or action, we desire to be enlightened; hence, "free discussion" is our motto. To the true and uncompromising friends of liberty, we need not make any urgent appeal to secure their cheering presence and valuable counsel, as far as practicable, at the approaching meeting. They know what the crisis demands, will remember their obligations, and be prompt in the discharge of their duties. But we strongly solicit the attendance of such as are yet only partially interested in the subject, or have yet to learn what connection the North sustains with the South in relation to slavery, or imagine that, individually, they have no responsibility whatever for the continuance of that "sum of all villanies" in our otherwise favoured land. The struggle in which we are engaged is neither sectional nor complexional, but broad as the whole country, relating to MAN as distinguished from the BRUTE, and seeking the liberty and happiness of all classes.

Distinguished speakers from various parts of the country will be present; and the proverbial hospitality of the liberty-loving citizens of Syracuse will be extended, to the extent of their ability, to such as may come from a distance.

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, } Secretaries.

POLITICS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

M. VICTOR HUGO, in his admirable work, 'Napoleon the Little,' has made the declaration that "the nations are never fully aware of their wealth in the article of scoundrels," and adds, that it is only during such "bouleversements" as that through which the unfortunate individual whom he has pilloried for the derision of all the ages succeeded in getting his foot upon the necks of the French people that their number becomes at all apparent. While we cheerfully concede to M. Hugo the possession of a discrimination as acute as it is extraordinary, we must beg leave to dissent from the latter of these assertions, and we know not where to turn for a more striking instance of its fallacy than is to be found in the standing example of the adjoining State of Pennsylvania.

This Commonwealth, the most conspicuous for staidness and stability of all the shining galaxy which constitute this "glorious union" for the strengthening and perpetuation of American slavery, which is "a burning and a shining light" of democracy, and has never, except in very rare instances, undergone any of those ordinary bouleversements, even, which occur in the natural course of popular governments, has, nevertheless, during a long series of years, furnished an example no less steady than striking of a wealth of political scoundrelism which may well discourage all efforts at competition on the part of her sister States.

With a start in the career of freedom equal to that of any other of the confederated Commonwealths, and historical reminiscences of the most honourable character, she has retrograded to such an extent as to have won for herself the unenviable title of "the meanest of the free States," though we must admit that an energetic rivalry has distinguished several other competitors for this honour.

From the days when revolutionary patriots accomplished the act of emancipation, framed her Constitution conferring the election franchise on all her citizens, without regard to the absurd distinction of complexion, and when a Franklin and a Rush were successively Presidents of her Society for the Abolition of Slavery, down to the present day, when her venal Legislature, for the purpose of currying favour with the South, invite the slaveholding Governor and Legislature, of the State of Maryland, in a body, to an entertainment in which they expend ten thousand dollars of the money of the dear people in gluttony and crapulence, under the pretext of patriotism, her whole course, both as a sovereign State and as a member of the Federal Union, has been one of cringing subserviency to the South, and of abject submission to a set of demagogues who have governed her in obedience to its behests, and who, not content, with others of their class, to "rule ruin," have gone still farther, and aimed at the accomplishment of both these objects simultaneously.

We say her whole course, and the exceptions have been, in point of fact, of but little practical importance. In order to avoid all injustice to her who stands so eminently in need of all the lenity which can possibly be extended to her, we must, among these exceptions, enumerate the ratification of "An Act to Prevent Kidnapping," passed during the administration of Governor Shunk, and signed by that honest and upright man, and which Act we can conscientiously commend as a model of straight-forwardness and perspicuity to all those States which are satisfied with such half-way legislation for the purpose of freeing themselves from the guilt of slavery as does not involve the abrogation of the Constitution of the United States. A more recent Legislature, however, has repealed that section of the bill which forbade the use of the jails of the Commonwealth for the detention of fugitive slaves, and the Pennsylvania prisons are now no longer the abode of malefactors exclusively, but have again opened their doors not for the protection, but for the "safe-keeping" of the prey of the man-hunter; while a Convention to reform the Constitution has improved upon the revolutionary fathers by inserting the word "white" among the qualifications of voters, thus disfranchising a large number of moral and industrious citizens, and was herein supported by a degraded and ignorant democracy.

Under the administration of the anti-Masonic Governor Ritner, things wore, for a short time, a more cheering aspect; but as the elevation of that party into power proceeded from transient causes, its effects were not lasting. The man who then commenced his political career as Secretary of State, having made all he could out of the affair, ratted, at the earliest convenient period, to the "Democratic party," permanently in the ascendant, and, having talked eloquently of "the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery," so long as it paid to do so, is now a staunch advocate of Nebraska, under the sham plea of popular sovereignty.

Mr. Buchanan, who first tried his hand at the trade of the politician, under anti-slavery colours, has, like all our other "statesmen" who aimed at the Presidency, found it necessary to succumb to the Slave Power, and, when canvassing in his own district for the nomination of the party caucus, stooped to means for the attainment of his object which were degrading to the last degree; and now, after his miserable failure, has retired from the political arena to represent the country at the Court of St. James, where he will, doubtless, coöperate faithfully with our other foreign diplomatists, whose chief business it seems to be to endeavour to prejudice European liberalists against the cause of freedom with us, and to traduce her only faithful advocates in this country.

James Cooper, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State at the time of the passage of the Act to which we have above alluded, and whose name is appended to that document, though a Whig, and therefore free, in a measure, from the controlling influences, has (a type of most of his class who have donned the anti-slavery livery) returned to his idols, and has, for years, been one of the most submissive tools of the Slaveholding Oligarchy. Here and there through the State, there is a prominent member of the Whig party who, like Thaddeus Stevens, has always maintained a respectable grade of anti-slavery profession and practice, but, as they do not belong to the dominant party, they have no influence in moulding the action of the State.

Throughout all departments of her ruling politics, we find the "democratic" principle of the rightfulness of chattel slavery is made an indispensable article of the political creed, and the consequence has been the calling into active life of a large number of men of whom Straub, recently immortalized by our neighbours of the *Tribune*, is a fitting representative. These creatures infest her councils everywhere, from the halls of the National Congress, down through those of the State Legislature, to the sanctum of the provincial newspaper—everywhere we find men to whom the thing called a conscience and that denominated the English language are alike incomprehensible.

"Mongrel, puppy, whelp and hound,
And cur of low degree,"

they can be had almost for the whistling; their employers need never apprehend a repetition of Dr. Franklin's youthful experience when he paid so dear for his whistle, for they are emphatically dog-cheap.

When a colossal bribery is determined on by the General Government (and it does sometimes determine on bribery), it is necessary to set apart but little of the spoils for the State of Pennsylvania; her devotion to "*our* democratic institutions" is of that leal and loyal nature that does not admit of a doubt; she always "goes with the South." Her *soi-disant* statesmen have neither that wise foresight of ultimate evil which should always distinguish the class whose style and title they assume, nor that honesty and purity of purpose which would lead them to shun it when it forces itself upon their notice, but, utterly insensible to all the demands of true patriotism, are entirely given over to the narrow idolatry of Self; and for the attainment of their ends, it is, to them, a matter of equal indifference whether they are required to make their genuflexions before the Romish Hierarchy, arrayed in all the tinsel of pontifical millinery, or before the Moloch of Southern Slavery, in all the hideousness of its utter nakedness.

The time may be counted in months since the Pennsylvania journals teemed with accusations of scandalous bribery in the State Legislature, and the Infamous Eleven have but just returned to her borders from the National Capitol, fresh from the iniquity of breaking down the barriers which had, for a while, hemmed in the Empire of Serfdom. A Philadelphian friend related to us, a few weeks since, an anecdote in illustration of the low estimate at which the legislative dignity has come to be rated, even among her own people, to the effect that a gentleman who had been formerly a member of the State Legislature, though he could not deny the fact, wished to hear as little of it as possible; election to such a post is regarded as a very equivocal compliment, though there are, everywhere over the State, pettifoggers and captains of militia, in plenty, who aspire to it with intense longing.

A highly intelligent German gentleman of our acquaintance, whose American experiences are confined almost entirely to a residence of three or four years in that State, declared to us, on one occasion, that the condition of society there appeared to him an almost total inversion of the natural order of things; that "equality" seemed to consist in the privilege of the white population to trample upon all the dearest rights of their coloured fellow-citizens; that "liberty" was but another name for unbridled license, and that "democracy" and despotism were convertible terms. And such is assuredly the estimate which will be put upon her character by all intelligent and impartial persons, whether foreigners or native-born citizens, until she shall return to the good old way—to the path marked out for her by her illustrious Founder (who, now that we think of it, did *not* die a slaveholder, as Bancroft asserts), and which was followed in by the sages who confirmed her title to liberty.

Though these strictures may seem to some too severe, we feel the most entire confidence that no Pennsylvanian who has the welfare of his native State truly at heart will feel disposed to gainsay what we have written, but that all such will sincerely thank us for these utterances.

SLAVEHOLDING PLANS.—John Wentworth, writing from Washington to the Chicago *Democrat*, says:

"The news of Colonel Benton's defeat has just reached here, and I never saw so much joy manifested as there is by the slaveholding interest. It has given them great courage, and I would not be surprised if they should bring on their two great measures next winter. The South cares nothing for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or the slavery part of the Kansas and Nebraska bill. It knows that it cannot be done, and so fears nothing. It has two great measures still behind. These measures Col. Benton, and every man opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise law, will oppose. Col. Benton is the only opponent who has submitted his name to the people. He has fallen. The cry is, let all other Democrats who opposed the repeal share his fate, and the star of slavery extension will be in the ascendant. The forthcoming measures are:

"1st. The formation of a new slave State from the south of California.

"2d. The nationalization of the institution of slavery. Slavery is now sectional, and the man who takes his slaves into a free State does so at the peril of his slaves. A very few words incorporated into an appropriation bill, or smuggled into some private bill, is all that is wanting. It is said that the following will be the words: 'The property of no citizen of any State shall be endangered or forfeited, whilst being occupied in, or transported through, any other State.' The idea is, that while no citizen of Illinois can hold slaves, under our Illinois laws, a citizen of another State may occupy a farm in Illinois with his slaves, transport them backwards and forwards without danger of forfeiture.

"Thus, whilst we are looking to remedy the past, the South has two great measures for the future. And if a man will go right in for these two measures, the South would take him for Congress though he introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to repeal the Fugitive Slave law and to repeal the Kansas and Nebraska bill as soon as he took his seat."

ANTI-SLAVERY IN THE WEST.

THE Western Anti-Slavery Society held its Anniversary, according to announcement, in Salem, Columbiana Co., on the 26th, 27th and 28th of last month. A large number of persons, of various shades of Anti-Slavery opinion, assembled to do honour to the occasion and to show their readiness to co-operate, wherein they might, for the overthrow of the deadliest enemy of our country and our race. The Meeting opened and closed in the Meeting House of the Friends, commonly known as Hicksites; but the Sessions of the Second Day, being Sunday, required the larger shelter of the Great Tent of the Society, which has been consecrated for several years to these hallowed uses. It was pitched in a field near the village, and its ample circumference was crowded both morning and afternoon, with an eagerly attentive audience. Around the edges of the Tent the wagons of distant pilgrims formed an outwork also full of serious listeners. There was no species of disorder or disturbance, either in the Meeting or about it, which would have been regarded in these more eastern latitudes as a remarkable circumstance, considering the occasion and the multitude in attendance. All seemed to be deeply impressed with the importance of the object of the Assembly and to be seriously bent upon seeking out how that object could be best promoted and accomplished. It was a body of earnest, sincere, single-minded men and women who had engaged in the Anti-Slavery work intelligently and resolutely, and into whose hearts the idea of flinching or blacksliding had never entered. It was a privilege and an encouragement to be permitted to see and know them, and to take counsel with them.

The debates were spirited and earnest, covering the whole ground of Anti-Slavery duty and activity. They were conducted in entire good temper and mutual courtesy, although very opposite opinions were maintained as to the philosophy and method of the Anti-Slavery warfare. The Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution and the efficacy of Anti-Slavery political action were maintained by Messrs. Blackwell and Donaldson, of Cincinnati, Brown, of Trumbull County, and Heaton, of Salem, with much zeal and ability. The opposite doctrines of the pro-slavery nature of the Constitution, as proved by history and adjudication, of the obligations imposed on those taking the oath to support it, to do, or not to hinder, the pro-slavery works therein contemplated, and the consequent duty of refusing to take such oath or to appoint others to take it for us, were urged by Messrs. C. C. Burleigh, Quincy, H. C. Wright, and others. The Society reäffirmed the position it took at the time of its formation, we believe, both as to the pro-slavery State and Church, by a very large majority. The other topics considered at the Meeting, embracing the general principles in which all Abolitionists are agreed, and the public measures, consummated or meditated, having for their object the comfort and reënforcement of Slavery, were also treated of with much zeal that was according to knowledge as well as enthusiasm and eloquence. As the Resolutions and action of the Society will, doubtless, be copied into the columns of the *Standard*, we shall attempt no more specific account of them at this time. On Sunday evening a large meeting for addresses was held in the Town Hall, at which speeches were made by the Rev. Leonard Griffing, of Connecticut, Mr. Gaines of Cincinnati, Mr. Quincy and Mr. Burleigh.

Large as the gathering was at this Meeting, we were assured that it would have been much larger had it not been for the drought which has consumed so much of the year's wealth of the West. This had a necessary tendency to narrow the means and to depress the spirits of the farmers of the Western States, of whom the bone and sinew of Abolitionism there is made up, and so to prevent many from coming up to our Assembly from the remoter districts of those States. But we were comforted to know that there was yet so strong a body in reserve, of whom the multitude before us were but the sample and the representatives. It is by such that the public sentiment of the Great West is to be modified and changed, and so to bring its mighty weight to bear on the destinies of the nation. It is of such minds that that public sentiment is made up now, which need only to be emancipated from the clutch of grasping and unscrupulous demagogues and to be led in the right direction, to produce mighty results. We are glad to know that the Society intends holding a series of Mass Meetings, assisted by Mr. Burleigh, Mr. and Mrs. Griffing and others, of their own able fellow-labourers, at various points in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, during the autumn. We are sure that such labour could not be bestowed on a better soil, or one better calculated to produce a remunerative harvest. Mr. Remond, who was expected to have attended this Meeting, was prevented from doing so by an attack of illness. We trust he may be able to join the party before the campaign is over.

Our readers will have seen in various forms, before now, an account of the event which crowned the Meeting with a fit and glad ending. Just before adjourning *sine die*, it was stated that a telegraphic despatch had been received from Pittsburgh, stating that a slave-girl left that city in the afternoon train. It would soon be at Salem and would stop but a few minutes. It was necessary to decide on the instant what was to be done.

"Short time was there, ye well may guess,
For musing or debate."

It was all important that the slave should have an opportunity to decide as to her own destiny, free from the influence of her master's presence. The only way was to take her out of the car, at once, and afterwards, if she deliberately and intelligently chose to remain a slave when she might be free, it would be very easy to send her back into Slavery, whereas it would be impossible to rescue her from Slavery, if she once again touched the soil of Virginia. But when the train arrived and the humane and resolute men, who were resolved that the critical moment of a fellow-creature's existence should not be lost through their neglect, entered the car and found that the slave was a child of tender years, the case was perfectly clear. She was not of an age competent to decide so momentous a question. It was the first duty of every just and right-minded man to save this innocent child from the horrors of the condition before her, whether she understood them or not. Accordingly, as soon as the fact of her being a slave was acknowledged, she was taken up bodily and carried away in triumph, amid the loud shouts of the surrounding multitude. It is said, and is altogether likely, that the poor child struggled and screamed at being treated thus unceremoniously, having known white men only as the natural enemies of her race. And pathetic paragraphs are going the rounds complaining of this cruel separation of the child from her beloved mistress. But it is also true that she said, before she was taken up, when asked the question by a coloured man, that *she wished to be free*. And so we were assured in Cleveland, on the authority of a Whig gentleman who was an eyewitness, that when the master proposed to execute Free Papers, if she could be given up to him, she vehemently protested against such a thing being done. This was after she was made acquainted with the real state of her case.

But these things are perfectly immaterial to the actual issue. The child by being brought into Ohio, by the act of her master, was made free. The master in attempting to carry her back to Slavery was guilty of the *moral*, if not the *legal*, crime of kidnapping. The child was entitled to the protection of the State of Ohio, and any of her citizens that had the virtue to constitute themselves her deliverers and guardians, did a strictly legal, as well as a most righteous, action in so doing, and this perfectly irrespective of the wishes of the child. If a child is subjected to cruel or barbarous usage, especially if the persons inflicting it have no natural or legal control over it, it is the right and the duty of any passer by to interfere and deliver it from its oppressor. So if a female child were to be seen in the act of being conducted to a disreputable house, and especially by one having no natural or legal control of her, any person present would be justified in taking charge of her, even against her wishes, and saving her from the threatened danger. These cases are strictly in point, only they are not strong enough. The man who was going to make a slave of a child whom the laws of Ohio had made free, had no natural and no legal control over her. He was a mere tortious intruder and invader of the rights of an innocent third party. He was going to reduce her to a condition in which she could have no personal or social rights, in which she would be doomed to labour without wages and with the whip and the branding-iron all the days of her life, in which she would be denied the sanctities of marriage and the custody of her own children, and with the certainty of all the dreadful incidents of Slavery being her portion and that of all her posterity. These were among the things to which this ill-used individual, who receives so much newspaper sympathy, proposed subjecting an innocent and free child. With all due deference to the editorial guides of the people, we must think that the men who delivered her from them did an honourable and humane action, and one that will find favour in the eyes of God and all good men.

We left the town as soon as this most appropriate conclusion of the Meeting had been reached. We dare say that further and fuller particulars of the occurrence may be laid before our readers in this very paper than we know ourselves. We can only report what we saw and heard in the hurry and excitement of the time. We are happy to say that the feeling of the great crowd which had been assembled at very short notice was almost unanimously on the right side. Only two or three were to be found who sympathized with the sufferings of the master. It was a most fortunate winding-up of the proceedings of the Anniversary, and will fix it indelibly in the memory of many hearts. It showed that Anti-Slavery is not a matter of words only, but of deeds as well; and that there are practical directions in which it leads, wherein Abolitionists of all hues of opinion can walk together. A general festivity of spirit pervaded the crowd about the platform, which found vent in loud and repeated cheers, as the train in which we as well as the afflicted Virginian were, moved off. It is hardly necessary to say that the kindest and most fraternal hospitality was extended by the Abolitionists of Salem to those from distant places, or that this Anniversary will be ever associated with the remembrance of many old friendships revived and more new ones formed.

SALLIE HOLLEY.

WELLSVILLE, N. Y., Aug. 28, 1854.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

I SEE by the *Standard* of date 26th inst., that you note the fact that Sallie Holley was expected to lecture here on the Sunday previous to that day. She did lecture, as was expected, to a large audience, and many of us will long remember that occasion with pleasure. I wish to say one word of the impression made and the influence exerted here by Miss Holley and a lady from Cattaraugus County, by whom she was accompanied in her travels. It was quite interesting to witness the variety of information possessed by those ladies, to see how well they were posted up on facts relating to the subject of slavery, and how diligently they had read the leading public journals and kept track of the opinions of those who conduct them.

The merit of Miss Holley as a speaker is of a high order. She evidently makes no effort at rhetorical flourish; she speaks right on, as the saying is, and her language is the natural product of strong sense supported and liberalized by a generous and enthusiastic devotion to the cause she has at heart. In listening to her, you would not stop to think that a woman was speaking, if you were not reminded of it by the constant intermingling of the pathetic with the terrible. There is an irresistible charm, a fascination in her voice, and in her manner, so calm, self-possessed, and lady-like, which fixes the attention of the hearer and renders him unconscious of lapse of time while she is speaking.

The effect of her lectures here was plainly perceptible, and it was quite inspiring to meet at social gatherings with a lady of so much moral power and mental elevation. While here, she seemed a little fatigued with the severity of her labours, for she had spoken in many places in this county. But as prolonged ease and inactivity could not be grateful to a person of her strong and generous temperament, so no real lover of his country who has witnessed to any extent her career as a lecturer could wish that in labours she should be less abundant.

You will not doubt that this tribute to Miss Holley is well deserved, and it is cheerfully and gratefully presented by one who to some extent is indebted to her for the happiness of having actually experienced, and in several instances observed, how efficacious may be a just and fearless exhibition of truth in saving men from unfair prejudices. Very respectfully, yours,

C. C.

EDMUND QUINCY.—Our esteemed coadjutor, Mr. Quincy, has been a *missionarying* among the anti-slavery people of Ohio recently, and had not only a good time himself, but made (of course, we may add parenthetically) a pleasant impression upon those among whom he laboured. The (Salem) *Bugle*—speaking of the Annual Meeting of that place—says of his visit that "the Abolitionists were most happy to welcome Mr. Edmund Quincy, for the first time, to Ohio. Mr. Quincy's great ability as a writer, his persevering and uncompromising character as an Abolitionist, secured for him long ago the respect and love of the radical friends of freedom here, and to listen to his voice in advocacy of common principles and purposes was highly satisfactory to them. And we think that those who have heretofore felt the severity of rebuke from his pen, were somewhat disappointed in finding, instead of the manifestations of 'gall' (in which we have heard them say his pen was always dipped), the quiet, clear and forcible advocacy of opinions and measures which marks the thorough man, of great and indomitable purpose." We take it the *Bugle* refers solely to the *un*-friends of the cause as the 'disappointed' ones, who found, on closer acquaintance, that Mr. Quincy's "bark was worse than his bite." They must, at least, have been on their good behaviour to warrant such a conclusion, for we can assure them that he keeps his teeth sharpened for platform use, when there is occasion, as well as when he mounts the editorial tripod.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY AT SYRACUSE.—We invite the attention of our readers to the notice, in another column, of a Special Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held at Syracuse on the 29th and 30th of the present month. There are reasons, which will readily suggest themselves, why this meeting should be largely attended. The friends of the cause in this State ought to make special efforts to be present, inasmuch as it is not likely that the attendance from other States will be very numerous. We suppose the anniversary of the Jerry Rescue will be celebrated on the day following the adjournment of the meeting, though we have as yet seen no official announcement to that effect. As Gerrit Smith will of course attend that celebration, we presume he will also gladly attend the previous meeting. We may, perhaps, be able to speak more definitely next week.

Senator Douglas attempted to justify himself before the people of Chicago on the 1st inst. He was so abusive that they would not hear him.

SALT WITH AN ILL SAVOUR.

THE three thousand and fifty clergymen, whose remonstrance against the Nebraska bill excited such needless alarm and indignation among a few members of Congress, appointed a committee to consider the expediency of calling a Convention of the ministers of New England, for deliberation and action upon the subject of Slavery. This committee, after taking ample time to investigate the leadings of Providence in the matter, reported that, in their judgment, any action of clergymen, as a body, upon this subject, was uncalled for and undesirable; that their proper sphere was the individual pulpit; and that there, undoubtedly, the ministers of New England, would spontaneously and effectively make themselves heard and felt upon the important subject in question.

However deficient in point of valour this decision may seem, we suppose that no intelligent person can doubt its discretion, in relation to the ease and comfort of the persons concerned. It was an easy thing for these gentlemen to remonstrate against the enslavement of Nebraska, when not a single member of their three thousand congregations desired such enslavement, and when a warm and strong current of popular feeling and action had preceded, and was accompanying them, in the remonstrance. But to come together, in the sight of men, to discuss the subject of *slavery*, to express an united opinion respecting it, and to mark out an effective course of action against it, this was a very different matter. They might as well (as far as their own comfort, and their standing in popular estimation were concerned) have invited themselves to dine on the apple of discord, and hired phonographers to report their speeches, as specimens of their successful cultivation of Christian union. We repeat it, the committee were exceedingly judicious, much wiser than the children of light, in avoiding a publicity which must have resulted in such exposure.

But, if we recollect that the committee abovementioned claim to be Christians, and official teachers of Christianity, their reasons for discouraging any combined action of New England ministers in opposition to slavery do not approve themselves as sound reasons, either to our hasty first, or our sober second, thought. The advantages of professional combination and coöperation are so easily understood, and so constantly practised among all classes in daily life, as to render an argument for them quite superfluous. That the force of such combinations is not more frequently turned against slavery, shows not at all that they would be useless, but rather that the persons who might and should form them are indifferent to the subject.

A mechanic has now and then the opportunity to serve the anti-slavery cause in the prosecution of his regular business, and every mechanic may unite with people of other classes and professions in anti-slavery labour; but it would be an excellent thing for all Northern mechanics, *as such*, to unite their strength in opposition to that systematic degradation of labour which is a necessary concomitant of slavery, and which must always act adversely to their welfare as well as to human rights in general. It is the interest of each one of these, as a workman, not less than his duty as a human being, to help forward every fugitive slave; to obstruct the movements of every kidnapper; to discountenance and oppose, in every honest way, that system which defrauds the labourer, not only of his wages, but of the credit, among men, to which honest industry entitles him; and to accomplish all this more effectually by combining with his fellows for that purpose. So the lawyers might advantageously combine, *as lawyers*, against a system which, more than any other, brings their profession into conflict with right and justice; which exposes the law to the contempt of every good man, and which brands themselves as practitioners of the *lower law*, and pursuers, by shameful means, of shameful ends, in their professional connection with slavery.

But with preëminent advantage might *ministers* avail themselves of the increase of power which combination gives. The credit which they have among the people for honesty of purpose, and for intelligence in their special department of instruction in religion and morality (a credit which gives them so great individual power with their respective congregations), would make them irresistible, if their united force were directed to a point at once right in itself and highly conducive to the public welfare. They have shown themselves well acquainted enough with this fact, and ready enough to avail themselves of it, in departments more especially tending to their own professional advantage, as the Bible, Tract, Missionary and Sunday School movements. Even these they have shrunk from applying to the welfare of the slave; and now, when an increasing alarm among their people at the incursions of Slavery has forced that subject directly upon their attention, they combine in an effort for the repeal of the Nebraska bill, but explicitly decline even to meet for consideration of the best means of opposition to its root and source, slavery. Their greatest achievement thus far—and this not spontaneously made, but drawn from them by the urgent solicitation of a few persons, eminent in talents and influence, among their own body—has been to copy a moderate and feeble movement which their own parishioners, influenced by other leaders, had long before made.

In the excellent speech of Josiah Quincy, Sen., at the late Whig Convention in Boston (copied in a recent number of the *Standard*), it was justly said that an individual ought not to be called on for a plan of operations against slavery; that so vast a subject required the earnest and continued consideration of the whole people, and the wisdom of their most enlightened representative bodies. This is unquestionably true. The several Legislatures should devote their special attention to it, as one of those eminent infractions of human rights which it is one special function of government to repress; political conventions should see to it that the republican institutions in which they glory, far from making deliberate alliance with the grossest form of despotism, should act directly to neutralize and destroy it; courts of justice should not only decline to execute injustice through law, but should place the benefit of their skill, and the weight of their influence, in the scale of Liberty against Slavery; and above all, ministers of the Gospel should present themselves, in combination, to the public, as leaders in an uncompromising warfare against the heathenism which slavery necessarily involves, and show a zeal in seizing opportunities, a prudence in devising means, a foresight in anticipating obstacles, and an energy in executing plans, which should not only prove effective against slavery, but should distance competition in leadership, making it manifest to all true lovers of liberty that the execution of *their* plans would most speedily and most thoroughly insure the destruction of slavery.

This is the stand which their education, their social standing, their position as educators of the people in morals and religion, require the clergy of New England and of the whole North to take respecting slavery. Have they taken it?

They have not shown the slightest beginning, either of intention or of disposition to take it. Even in cases where the pertinacity of individual members has compelled ecclesiastical bodies to recognise the subject as coming within their jurisdiction, they have either confined themselves to a vague expression of general disapproval, or have limited their condemnation to some petty twig or branch, leaving the great root of the evil undisturbed.

The moral obliquity manifested by the clergy of New England, in deliberately refusing even to meet for consideration of their duty on the subject of slavery, is not to be fully appreciated until we consider the claims which they make, as clergymen, to respect and consideration from the community. They assume themselves to be the successors of the apostles, the conservators of Chris-

tianity, the salt of the earth and the light of the world. They affirm that the most enlightened parts of the world have become such through their labours; that such improvement in morals and religion as Christendom is now making is owing to them; and that England and America would steadily decline towards barbarism and heathenism were their order to be extinguished and their labours to cease. They claim, as a matter of right, that the community should give up one day of the week to them, setting aside all other concerns, receiving their authoritative instructions, and recompensing the overseership by a liberal support to themselves and their families; and they stigmatize, as actuated by enmity to religion itself, all who have the hardihood to resist this claim, even when such resistance springs from their own obvious delinquency in reformatory action.

These pretensions certainly authorize us to require and expect from them attention to the *practical* part of Christianity. Is it their duty as ministers to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction? Who are so truly fatherless as the thousands who are placed by their own fathers on the auction-block for sale? Who are so really widows as those whose living husbands are torn from them at the pleasure of another, perhaps for having vainly tried to protect them from outrage? Is it their duty to seek and to save those who are lost? Who are more hopelessly lost than the fugitives who are seized and returned to Slavery by the very parishioners of these clergymen, the Governor of Massachusetts, and the Mayor and military bodies of Boston? Is it strange that men of the world, politicians and soldiers, should do, in the way of business, what the pulpit has plainly taught them to do, often by its speech, but still oftener by its silence? For those sins of the world which the Church encourages, the Church is to be held accountable.

Yet again, it is to be observed that the American ministry have not only declined the performance of their duty on this subject themselves, but have interfered with the labours of others who were disposed to perform it. Since 1830, when Mr. Garrison made a special appeal to the clergy to recognise emancipation as a Christian enterprize, and to enlist their talents and their influence in its behalf, from no quarter have the abolitionists experienced more uniform and pertinacious opposition than from the ministers, of every sect. They entered not in themselves, and those who were entering in, they hindered.

Salt is good. If it loses its savour it is good for nothing. But if it should become putrescent, offensive to the senses and noxious to the health, what shall we say of it? The clerical class, of every denomination, have, like other classes, their merits and their faults, the balance whereof is not for us to strike in this place; but, regarding them as a mass, and solely in their relation to the institution of slavery in this country, it is perfectly within bounds to say that their influence does harm instead of good; that they are the bulwark of slavery, an obstacle to the progress of freedom, a palpable and enormous nuisance in this department of human welfare.

THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY.

In another column will be found an account of this meeting at Salem, Ohio, on the 26th, 27th and 28th of last month, by one who was present, and which gives so clear an impression of the spirit and character of the occasion, that we do not deem it necessary to publish the merely official report, which is already before those most interested in it in the columns of *The Bugle*. We make room, however, for the report of the Executive Committee as containing a succinct statement of the operations of the Society for the last year, and marking the progress of the cause in the great State of the West. It is as follows:

Twelfth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society.

The Executive Committee present their twelfth annual report, with cheerful hope. Hope inspired by past success, by the righteous object we seek, and by a firm reliance on the omnipotence of truth—the means we employ.

The Society has already been made acquainted with the operations of the committee, from week to week, through its paper. The present report will therefore be brief.

The circulation of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* has somewhat increased the past year. We still need about three hundred subscribers to make the annual proceeds of the paper meet the expenses of its publication. Such however has been the success in collecting from delinquent subscribers, that the actual receipts on the account of the paper the past year have somewhat exceeded the expenses.

Receipts to Bugle	$2,098,88
Expenses of publication	2,086,59

At the last annual meeting, the society adopted with unanimity a resolution recommending the Executive Committee to require in all cases, prepayment. In accordance with this resolution the Committee adopted the regulation, and, after due notice, struck from the subscription list all delinquents, in all upwards of 300 (318). Many of these were reliable, paying subscribers, and have since paid up their arrearages. Though a large amount is still due. Many of those whose papers were discontinued, have renewed their subscriptions, while others embraced the opportunity to substitute other papers of a less radical stamp.

After due consideration and discussion, and witnessing the operation of this rule, the committee thought it advisable to suspend its strict enforcement. But as a continued inducement to pre-payment, which they still earnestly desire, they resolved rigidly to enforce the rule for increased price, to those who delay payment to the end of the year.

For particulars of its pecuniary condition, the society is referred to the report of the Treasurer.

The receipts are:

From donations, pledges &c	$1,204,00
Subscriptions to Bugle	$2,098,88
Total of receipts	$3,302,88

To the anti-slavery women of Ohio we are indebted for a large share of the small amount of donations received. Besides their efficient general cooperation in the society, some few of their number have during the past, as in previous years, done much to aid through the instrumentality of fairs. Especially the women of Cincinnati, Salem and Adrian, and of their vicinities. This aid has been most opportunely and thankfully received.

The annual Cincinnati convention held in April last, under the auspices of the Ladies Sewing Circle, was not behind its predecessors in numbers and influence. To it in connection with other labours of these women and their few coadjutors, Cincinnati is largely indebted for much of what vital anti-slavery is to be found in its midst.

The committee have been greatly restricted by the want of competent lecturers, as well as the want of funds. But they have laboured to husband such resources as they could control to the best advantage.

During the last autumn a vigorous and successful campaign was sustained in the west by the liberal co-operation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The agents traversed new ground, extending their labours to Wisconsin and previously unvisited portions of Indiana.

Parker Pillsbury, with Charles and Josephine Griffing, passed through the south-western part of Ohio into Indiana, where they spent several weeks of earnest and successful labour. They brought to the ears of the people new and strange doctrines, which nevertheless they manifested much anxiety to hear, and many gave evidence that their hearing was not in vain. Subsequently C. C. Burleigh passed through the State lecturing at several places. Mr. and Mrs. Foster also laboured a short time with extraordinary success in the northern part of the State.

Iowa has not been visited by any of our Agents, though the Corresponding Secretary has received numerous pressing requests to send aid to that State. We hope ere long to be able to give the assistance they crave.

Wisconsin was visited by C. C. Burleigh, who spent near three months in the State. His own report and that of other friends, unite in speaking most encouragingly of his success. From all results of past labours and investigations, there is evidently, among the people of the west a spirit of freedom which needs only the proper culture for its developement. It has indeed been lying nearly latent, beguiled into inaction by a corrupt and wily church; or crushed by the overpowering insolence of pro-slavery politics. Let there be sent among them earnest men and women as lecturers, and the true spirit will be developed.

In Michigan last fall and winter, Mr. and Mrs. Foster spent several months, labouring with their habitual diligence and fidelity. Everywhere before them, prejudice vanished and an earnest interest succeeded to the indifference or opposition that had been arrayed against the cause of the slave. Mr. Garrison also in the course of a visit of four or five weeks did much to remove prejudice, enlighten the people, and enlist them for the right. Benjamin S. Jones, Sallie Holley, and M. R. Robinson also lectured in the State—the labours of the former covering some three or four months of time. James W. Walker gave his last labours to the cause of freedom in Michigan. In the fall a State society was organized at Adrian. Many of the friends at the time, feared to engage in the organization, lest they should be found too few and weak to sustain any creditable operations. But the result has proved that their fears were groundless. The Society has prosecuted its labours with a vigour which has already realized large results, and is full of promise for the future.

In Western Pennsylvania, John F. Selby has laboured a part of the year, as the agent of our Society, as did also J. H. Phileo, as agent of the American Society. In Western Pennsylvania are found some of the most true and reliable of the slave's friends.

Less labour has been bestowed upon Ohio the past year than previously. Our lecturers are so few that if we yield to the importunate and just demands of comparatively new territory west, we must of necessity almost discontinue our labours in longer occupied fields here. Nevertheless, considerable has been done, considering our means. Mr. Garrison held several meetings, and C. C. Burleigh has spent three or four weeks in the State. J. W. Walker spent some time, as our agent, here, in the early part of last autumn, and James Barnaby has, during the summer, visited several places, while Mr. and Mrs. Griffing have, since their Indiana tour, been engaged in this State. The efficient labours of these friends have kept up and increased the subscription list of our paper—kept alive the anti-slavery fire in old localities, and kindled it in some which were previously uncheered by its light and warmth.

In concluding this brief view of the efforts of the year to extend radical and uncompromising anti-slavery at the West, the Committee can but affirm their increasing conviction of the importance of our position and labours. It is made manifest by every new developement of the unscrupulousness of the Slave Power, and by the inadequacy and failure of every new phase of partial opposition to that power. The anti-slavery sympathy of the North has hitherto failed to embody itself in any adequate measures of opposition to slavery, because, to a greater or less extent, it has emulated the compromising spirit of the government. It has been constantly yielding vital principle for temporary success. It has sacrificed consistency with truth to combine numbers and secure votes, yielding the truth for party predominance and sectarian success. Thus, what has been gained by fidelity at one point, has been surrendered by compromise or timid yielding at another. Thus the cause which has seemed to make a real progress at one time has subsequently retrograded, and the actual advancement of free principles has been small.

The last great outrage upon freedom, the introduction of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska by act of Congress, has partially opened the eyes of many to see the disastrous character of this course, and has induced them to raise the cry of "no more compromises"; and yet, evidently, they know not what they say or whereof they affirm; for with the same breath that they repudiate all compromises; they renew their allegiance to the parent of American compromises, the Federal Constitution. Amidst this general delinquency and blindness, it is of the utmost importance that there be some unyielding impracticables—men and women who, with a single eye to liberty and an unfaltering confidence in moral power, shall hold firm and high above all parties the motto, "No Compromise with Slavery." We must hold fast to our principles if we would save the cause and see it triumphant in the emancipation of the bondman and the establishment of justice.

In common with all the friends of the Society, the Committee have to mourn the loss, during the past year of two eminently devoted co-workers—men to whom the cause of freedom is largely indebted for its past and present prosperity. Asa Davis, of Iowa, and James W. Walker, of Ohio, have finished their labours and entered into their rest. The former, quiet and unobtrusive, was little known abroad, yet to his most unparalleled liberality the Society is largely indebted for the means of prosecuting its labours during the three last years.

The labours of James W. Walker are fresh in the memories and hearts of the members of this Society. They need, on this occasion, neither enumeration or eulogy. The works of these departed brethren praise them. The blessings of the perishing rest upon them. Let us imitate their virtues, and may we be stimulated to new efforts so that, by their departure, the onward cause of freedom may suffer no check.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

Marius R. Robinson, *Cor. Sec.*

Among the Resolutions—and we regret that we have not space for the whole series, the discussion of which occupied the attention of the Convention—were three of a personal character, which we copy:

Whereas, since our last annual meeting, James W. Walker, formerly an agent of this Society, has gone from the scenes of his earthly labour to another and a higher life; therefore

Resolved, That we appreciate highly his able and earnest efforts as a public advocate in the cause of the slave; feel deep regret that his eloquent and faithful voice can no more be heard among us; and, while delaring our high respect for his manly character and Christian heroism, we would also earnestly express our sympathy for his bereaved wife and children, separated as they are for a season from a beloved companion and parent.

Resolved, that in the decease of our friend, and the friend of the slave, Asa Davis, we feel that an old and faithful Abolitionist, a self-sacrificing man, untiring in his labours, "with a hand open as day to melting charity," and yet so quiet and retiring as to be hardly known except as his good deeds led men to ask the source from whence they came, has gone from among us, as we trust, to the reward that awaits the good.

Resolved, That, notwithstanding the late Saml. Lewis differed from us in his views of political duty, we would not therefore withhold an expression of deep sorrow for his death, believing that Freedom has in him lost one of its ablest advocates, and Christianity and true statemanship one of its purest exemplars, and of whom it may be truly said, "his works do follow him."

TEMPERANCE.

The Legislature of Mississippi has passed a law providing that no person shall sell spirituous or vinous liquors in less quantity than a quart, without a license; and the question of licensing shall be determined by the people of each County, at the polls.

——There is a strong and resolute Maine law movement on foot in Virginia. A State Temperance Convention was recently held at Lynchburg, at which resolutions were adopted in favour of carrying the question to the polls.

——Texas, it is said, has gone '*No License*,' by an overwhelming majority. The act voted on is a weak one, only prohibiting sales in less quantities than *one quart;* but the people's vote affirms the great principle of prohibition, which will be more efficiently enforced by future enactments.

——An undertaking is now on foot in Vermont to establish a large permanent fund for the enforcement and support of the Maine law. The sum of $250,000 is to be subscribed, a small annual assessment on which will be sufficient to defray all the expenses of prosecution in cases growing out of the breach of the law. About $100,000 of the proposed fund has already been raised.

——A correspondent of the *Tribune* writes from Stamford, Ct., as follows:

"The Maine Law works well here. Not one man has been seen drunk here since the first of August; our village seems like a paradise to what it was. Drinking and carousing were the order of the day before, and it was no uncommon thing to see a half dozen drunken men staggering through our streets, as we had about twenty-one places where liquor could be bought within a quarter of a mile. If the present state of things exists, and I really believe it will, property must advance at least twenty per cent., for we have one of the pleasantest and healthiest villages in the world."

——Gov. Gorman is, *ex officio*, Indian Agent for the Minnesota Indians. At a recent council with the Chippewas, the Governor threatened the Indians with the loss of their annuity if found drunk, and any Indian's portion thus forfeited was to be divided equally among the sober. Hole-in-the-dark, a distinguished orator, remarked, in reply, that it was just, but that the same rule ought to be applied to the agent, *who was a great man*, and had a great annuity. It ought to be taken from him and divided, like the others, *for he got drunk very often.* The Governor must have felt rather streaked about that time.

——The Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* says: "We have recently met with many complaints about drugged and poisoned whiskey. In former and more honest times, from two to three gallons of whiskey were distilled out of a bushel of grain; now, by the aid of poisonous ingredients, distillers often manufacture four gallons to the bushel, which will carry a bead equal to first proof, while it carries destruction and death to the drinker. Much of the common whiskey now sold is a vile compound, which would poison the stomach of a hog. The Staunton *Spectator* says it is quite common to find any quantity of fish berries, and a white sediment resembling lime, in the bottom of whiskey barrels. Thousands of slaves, to say nothing of whites, are no doubt yearly killed by drinking such a poisonous liquid."

——It would seem from the following that the good people of New Haven, three-quarters of a century ago, adopted measures respecting the rum traffic of an altogether different character from those which are becoming popular among the present inhabitants of that place:

"Vote of New Haven, in town meeting, legally passed, holden August 6th, 1779.

"*Whereas*, complaint has been made to this meeting, that some persons have lately sold rum at an exorbitant price, and others have withheld and refused to sell—*Voted*, that this Town *doth disapprove* of any person asking and receiving a greater price than *thirty-two* dollars per gallon*, by retail, for good West India Rum; and also of any person withholding the same; and this town will *treat with proper contempt* all persons who refuse to sell their rum, or shall sell the same at more than the above mentioned price. And that Capt. Abel Burritt, Capt. Moses Gilbert. Dr. Levi Ives, and Capt. Peter Johnson, be a committee to communicate this vote."

* Supposed to be Continental money.

——Rev. Thomas Williams, now of Rhode Island, is noted for his eccentricities. A correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth* relates a characteristic anecdote, as follows:

"Mr. Williams was settled at Foxboro' previous to 1820. At the first funeral he attended there, liquors were passed round to the mourners and others, immediately after the services. On seeing this, Mr. Williams addressed the sexton, 'Sir,' said he, 'at the next funeral I attend, if you officiate, I wish you to take the tongs and get a living coal and touch it to the noses of all the people present; it will answer the same purpose as the rum, and not do so much mischief!' The sexton was greatly surprised—said it was the custom, and the people would think strange of it if the spirits were not passed round. 'Well,' said Mr. Williams, 'let us have a new custom; let us try the *live coal*.' There was no more liquor 'passed round' at funerals in Foxboro' after that."

——Joseph Barker, in a letter to the *Liberator*, describes a "monster meeting" held at Leeds (Eng.) to discuss the motion for closing the public houses or drink-shops on Sunday. He says:

"There were from fifteen to twenty thousand people present. It was the largest meeting I ever saw. The publicans had employed bands of music to draw their friends to the spot, and the Temperance men and Sabbatarians had united to bring their friends thither. The publicans and their men got first on the ground, and two or three thousand of them placed themselves in front of the steps on which the speakers were to stand, and they had previously agreed that the moment I rose to speak, they should begin to shout, and keep shouting till I gave up the attempt. I, however, spoke, and said my say, notwithstanding the noise, and the meeting decided to petition for the closing movement. After the business had been disposed of, the people would have me speak again; and I addressed some thousands in quiet, on the Temperance movements of America, on American slavery, and the interests of humanity generally. When I left the platform to go to my home, the people crowded round me in such numbers that I could hardly move. Some wanted to carry me on their shoulders; others wanted to talk with me; and all wanted to shake hands with me. The cries, 'Hurrah for Barker!' 'Three cheers for Barker, the friend of the poor!' were almost deafening. I was amazed and almost overwhelmed with their demonstrations. I got out of the Cloth-hall yard at length, and, in hopes of escaping the crowd, turned suddenly to the left, and hurried along; but the crowd rolled after me like a flood, insisting on giving me a triumphant march through the town. It was useless to object; accompany me they would. Whenever they came to a drink-shop, they renewed their tremendous shouts—'Three cheers for Barker!' 'Three cheers for the Maine Law!' &c. Twice or thrice I stopped to address them and bid them good night; but they would not leave me. They crowded on till I reached Councillor Carter's, at whose house I was staying, and there they formed in mass, in front of the house, requesting another speech. I spoke about half an hour longer, and, after getting from me a promise that I would visit them again, they withdrew in peace to their homes."

MUCH IN LITTLE.

The Newsboys of our large cities, too long neglected, have at length found kind friends who are earnestly engaged in promoting their physical, intellectual and moral improvement. In this city, thanks to Mr. Brace, and the Children's Aid Society, of which he is the soul, a lodging-house has been fitted up for their special accommodation, with reading-room, lecture-room, and other needful appliances of such an establishment. At another time we may, perhaps, give a more particular account of the establishment; but at present we can only copy a paragraph from the *Times*, showing the first result of an effort to employ music as a means of refining and elevating those who were born to an inheritance of poverty and degradation. It seems that a Mr. Van Meter was engaged as a musical instructor. The *Times* says:

"The first essay was attended with admirable success—taking into consideration the rough material he had to work upon and reduce to form. By adapting his language and manner to their capacity and years, he soon won their confidence and affection. After a few rehearsals, the boys sung several pieces with excellent effect, and the exercise evidently wrought upon their feelings, causing many of them to shed tears. Mr. Van Meter combines with his music lectures instructive lessons on morality. His manner is easy, frank, and winning, and well calculated to inspire the young mind with confidence. Last evening the second musical levee was held at the Lodging-house. Several ladies and gentlemen of high respectability were in attendance, and took a lively interest in the proceedings, joining with the boys in singing the pieces selected. Mr. Dyer, of the *Musical Review*, made some appropriate remarks, reminding them that New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston suddenly began to take a deep interest in newsboys. Before that, people neglected them, did not care to inquire whether they eat, drank or slept. But since this room was opened for them, a vast deal of interest is felt in their behalf; people like to hear them spoken of; good stories told of them, of their honesty and good qualities. He told them that among the productions of the day was one called 'Little Ferns,' full of appropriate stories for them, and intended for youth. The authoress, Fanny Fern, became interested in them, and, to prove it, she desired a copy of her work to be placed in the hands of each boy who would read it. He mentioned this to show what an interest is felt in them, because they were trying to improve and better their condition. So long as they take care of themselves, he said, so long would they meet with sympathy and support. Mr. Dyer's colloquy with the newsboys was highly interesting, and elicited many laughable repartees from the boys. Altogether, such reunions, with the countenance and presence of ladies and gentlemen who would take an interest in the poor friendless newsboy, would doubtless lead to the most beneficial results."

——Our readers remember the speech of Henry D. Thoreau, at Framingham, of which we gave them some pungent extracts, not long since. We spoke of him as a literary recluse. A book from his pen, entitled "Life in the Woods," has just issued from the press. The following notice of it we copy from the *Christian Register*, in the belief that our readers will thank us for the information it conveys:

"A young man, eight years out of college, of fine scholarship and original genius, revives, in the midst of our bustling times, the life of an anchorite. By the side of a secluded pond in Concord, he builds with his own hands a hut which cost him twenty-eight dollars and twelve and a half cents; and there he lived two and a half years, 'cultivating poverty,' because he 'wanted to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and suck out all its marrow.' Here he found that the labour of six weeks would support him through the year; and so he had long quiet days for reading, observation, and reflection, learning to free himself from all the hollow customs and false shows of the world, and to pity those who by slavery to inherited property seemed to be doing incredible and astonishing penance. In the account he gives us of his clothes, house, food, and furniture, we find mingled many acute and wise criticisms upon modern life; while in his descriptions of all living things around him, birds, fishes, squirrels, mice, insects, trees, flowers, weeds, it is evident that he had the sharpest eye and the quickest sympathy. One remarkable chapter is given to the sounds that came to his ear, with suggestions, full of poetry and beauty, of the feelings which these sounds awakened. But nothing interested him so much as the Pond, whose name gives the title to his book. He describes it as a clear sheet of water, about a mile in circumference; he bathed in it every morning; its cool crystal depths were his well, ready dug; he sailed upon its bosom in summer; he noted many curious facts pertaining to its ice in winter; in short, it became to him a living thing, and he almost worshipped it. But we must not describe the contents of this book any further. Its opening pages may seem a little caustic and cynical; but it mellows apace, and playful humour and sparkling thought appear on almost every page. We suppose its author does not reverence many things which we reverence; but this fact has not prevented our seeing that he has a reverential, tender and devout spirit at bottom. Rarely have we enjoyed a book more, or been more grateful for many and rich suggestions. Who would have looked to the Walden Pond for a *Robinson Crusoe*, or for an observer like the author of the *Natural History of Selborne*, or for a moralist like the writer of *Religio Medici?* Yet paragraphs in this book have reminded us of each of these. And as we shut the book up, we ask ourselves, will the great lesson it teaches of the freedom and beauty of a simple life be heeded? Shall this struggle for wealth, and this bondage to the *impedimenta* of life, continue forever? Will the time ever come when it will be fashionable to be poor—that is, when men will be so smitten with a purpose to seek the true ends of life that they will not care about laying up riches on the earth? Such times we know there have been, and thousands listened reverently to the reply given in the last of these two lines to the inquiry contained in the first:

'O where is peace, for thou its path hast trod?'
'In poverty, retirement, and with God.'

"Who can say that it is impossible that such a time may come round, although the fashion of this world now runs with such a resistless current in the opposite direction."

POLITICS.

It is pretty well understood that Millard Fillmore aspires to the Presidency in 1856, and that he is coquetting with the Know-Nothings, in the hope of securing their aid. In order to accomplish this end and reïnstate the Silver Grays of 1850 in office and power, it is deemed necessary, in the first place, to prevent the reëlection of Seward to the Senate. This, in the present state of the slavery question, is sure to be a difficult piece of business, Mr. Seward being very popular with the Anti-Nebraska party. In these circumstances, the Silver Grays, it would seem, have resolved to steal the anti-slavery thunder. At least this is our inference from the following paragraph, which we copy from Mr. Fillmore's organ, the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser:*

"It is not possible to reïnstate the Missouri Compromise, and it would therefore be unwise to attempt it. But it is possible to prevent the admission into the Union of slave States which may be formed out of Nebraska and Kansas; and if the Whig party of the North shall assert that this ought to be done, they will take tenable ground. We are of opinion, however, that no such contingency as is here supposed is likely to happen. We are opposed to the present acquisition of Cuba, and most decidedly opposed, should it ever be acquired, to its admission into the Union as a slave State. We are utterly opposed, in short, to the admission of any more slave States, wheresoever they may be located, except in the single case of Texas. Should that State be divided, it seems to us that we are bound to keep the contract by which she was annexed to the Union."

——The Free Democratic State Convention, recently held at Harrisburg, besides commending the Whig State ticket to the support of all true Republicans, adopted a series of resolutions against the Nebraska bill and in favour of Temperance. The following letter from Judge Pollock, the Whig candidate for Governor, was read:

"Milton, Aug. 18, 1854.

"Sir: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 5th instant, asking 'an expression of my sentiments on certain points' therein set forth. Cordially approving the sentiments of the address of the State Central Committee to which you have referred, I cannot hesitate to reply to your queries; and in reply to your first question, say that 'my views concerning the provisions of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, and of the duties imposed by that measure upon the friends of Freedom' have been often and publicly expressed. That bill, in its origin, design, progress and final consummation, is without merit to recommend or principle to sustain it. Unasked, ill-timed and reckless—a palpable violation of a solemn compact of plighted faith and national honour—an undisguised attempt to introduce slavery into a territory now free—it deserves and should receive the unqualified condemnation of a free people. The duties imposed by this measure upon the friends of Freedom are 'a resolute determination to effect the absolute and entire repeal of the aggressive portions of that bill'—the reënactment of that portion of the Missouri Compromise which prohibits slavery in those territories—their restoration and preservation to Freedom—and active opposition now and hereafter, by every legal and constitutional means, to the aggressions of slavery and its extension to the territorial domain of the nation.

"Secondly: I hold that the policy embodied in the sixth article of compact in the celebrated ordinance of 1787, is a wise and beneficent policy, and ought to be applied in all territory now belonging to the United States or that may be acquired by them. The great and beneficial results of that policy demonstrate its wisdom, and the wisdom of the statesman by whom it was introduced and sustained; a departure from it ought never to have been permitted, and is the great error of modern legislation.

"Thirdly: I hold that the Constitutional rights of habeas corpus and trial by jury should be preserved inviolate and secured to every person arrested on or by virtue of the process of the Federal Judiciary.

"The declaration of the Constitutional rights is but the recognition of some of the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government. Yours respectfully,

"James Pollock.

"Mr. William B. Thomas, Chairman of Free Democratic State Convention."

The following is the letter from Mr. Potts authorizing the withdrawal of his name:

"Warwick Furnace,
Monday, June 12, 1854.

"Dear Sir: The great importance, and even necessity, of *union* among the various opponents to the misrule at both Washington and Harrisburg, has become obvious to all—and I am gratified to learn that an effort is now being made, by duly authorized committees, to effect if possible an end so very desirable and to put in nomination such candidates for office as will, at the coming election, command the support of the entire opposition. To promote this object, our Free Democratic friends are doubtless prepared to make every concession or sacrifice consistent with a due regard to their principles; and with a view to disembarass your Committee in its activity upon this matter, so far as I am individually concerned, I fully authorize and consent to the withdrawal of my nomination as a candidate for the office of Governor, at any time that it may be deemed expedient to do so. With the highest respect, I am, gentlemen, very truly yours,

"David Potts, Jr.

"To William B. Thomas, Chairman Free Dem. Con."

A Whig Doughface.—There is to be, manifestly, a desperate effort to revive the Whig party as a national organization, and to use it as the instrument of a fresh betrayal of the North into the hands of the Slave Power. The following letter from a Northern Whig to the *National Intelligencer*, in which paper it appeared on the 18th ult., shows the Southern face of the Northern men who are playing this game.

"To the Editors—*Gentlemen:* I have had my attention called to recent 'articles in Southern papers,' assailing the Northern wing of the Whig party for the support that a few Whigs of the North gave to Mr. Eliot's resolution proposing to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, and striving to produce the impression that the Whigs in that section have determined to make this measure a *party issue*. These imputations are groundless; they proceed from a distempered imagination. *The vote on this proposition should no more be considered as committing the Whig party to the repeal of that law* than the Democratic votes given on the same side should commit that 'Simon Pure' party to the same policy. Mr. Eliot introduced his resolution without any previous consultation with the leading Whigs of the House from the North, and it met at their hands a prompt *repudiation*. I will not deny that a majority of the Whig party North desire that this law should be amended; and if Mr. Eliot's motion had been restricted to proper and just amendments, it would have doubtless received a more general support than it did from our Northern friends. *But the large and respectable number who either voted against it or did not vote at all shows that they are opposed to its repeal. Our Northern Whigs are sound on this subject, and our Southern Whigs should be cautious* how they give credence to the accusations of the Democratic journals.'

"Yours, with respect, S. R."

☞ We have not yet received the report of the 'Soft' Convention, which assembled at Syracuse on Wednesday.

Summary.

The Female Traveller.—The Countess Ida Pfeiffer, the celebrated German traveller, took passage on the boat for Milwaukee from Chicago, on the 22d. ult. She is *en route* to the far North, on a tea-drinking social visit to the settlements of the Hudson Bay Company.

By our dispatches from Philadelphia, we learn that the Turnebund jubilee was closed in a general row. The Police fired their revolvers, wounding several Germans, and many more were badly beaten with billies. One of the officers was stabbed, and another severely injured by the blows which he received.—*Tribune.*

Hanging a Slave for Firing a Barn.—On Saturday last, the negro Tom, belonging to Mr. A. Carlin of this parish, was tried by a jury of slave owners, in pursuance of the act of '46, for burning a stable belonging to his master. The case was a clear one, and he was sentenced to be hung on the 15th of September next.—*Planter's Ban.* (*Miss.*), *Aug.* 21.

A writer in a London paper lately saw a blind (?) man looking with much apparent interest at the prints in a private seller's window. "Why, my friend," said we, "it seems you are not blind?" "Blind! no, thank God, your honour," replied the man, "I have my blessed sight as well as another." "Then why do you go about led by a dog with a string?" "Why? Because I hedicates dogs for blind men."

Iowa.—The State officers of Iowa, who lose their places and emoluments by the late political revolution in that State, are said to be particularly indignant towards Senator Douglas for disturbing their quiet possession of the honours and profits, which they supposed would enure to them for their whole lives, by his blundering Nebraska bill. Both parties attribute the result of the election to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by Congress.

A correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, writing from Nebraska, says, going up the river, "The cultivation of the vine is pursued to considerable extent, especially at Herman, where the whole population, composed exclusively of Germans, have lined the shore with vineyards, re-creating in the bosom of the wilderness the glories of the Rheingan. Some of their 'sparkling Catawba' was brought on board, and was pronounced equal to the best Asmanhausen."

Large Sale of Slaves.—On the 17th ult. the slaves, 17 in number, of the late Hiram K. Duncan, of Worcester County, Md., were sold at auction at Snow Hill, and 9 of them were purchased by T. W. Hargis, Esq., a wealthy farmer of that county, for the sum of $6,771. One aged 20 years brought $1,000; another, aged 27, $985; and the rest of the nine at prices ranging from $895 down to $430 for one only 6 years of age. The balance of the 17 were all sold to citizens of the county, at high prices, except an old woman, 80 years of age, who brought only 30 cents.

A Cat Raising Chickens. — Mr. Henry Edwards seems to have a curiosity on his premises. He sends us the following:

In a hen-roost attached to my barn, where the hens had been in the habit of laying their eggs and where two or three had been left, a cat took up her abode, and in course of time had three of the kind added to her stock. Presently, after, my family discovered with the same a small chicken, which is now with the cat and kittens in my garden. They live as one family, the cat being the only mother the chicken possesses. Those who have the curiosity to examine the phenomenon will call at my house in Broad street.—*Bridgeport Standard, August* 28.

A Case for St. Paul.—The Virginia *Colonizationist* gives an account of a man who was owned as a slave in Norfolk. When he purchased himself, to avoid expulsion from the State, he had a bill of sale made to his wife—a free woman. Recently, he desired to go to Liberia. The wife declined. He resolved to go without her. She threatened him with her bill of sale of his person. She knew the Colonization Society would not carry off her servant without her consent. The man saw his case a hard one, but, by dint of coaxing and reasoning, he persuaded his mistress-wife to give him a deed of emancipation. He went; and the nub of the story to the colonizationists is, that the man was enraptured with the country and has succeeded in equally enrapturing his wife, who is going out to Africa to meet him.

Additional Slave States.—The *Journal of Commerce* is very positive that the position taken at the Saratoga Convention against admitting any more slave States cannot be carried into effect, for the reason that we have made a compact with Texas to admit certain portions of her territory with or without slavery, as the inhabitants might desire. That is a pretty doctrine for those men to bring forward who have been prominent in overthrowing the compact of 1820. The very same impudent pro-slavery advocates who have destroyed the constitutional and hitherto sacred compromise under which Missouri was admitted into the Union, now contend that the bargain with Texas is inviolable. We trust that northern men will stand up firmly against the admission of another slave State under any circumstances. We have to meet this element at every point, or it will obtain a signal advantage over freedom. If we yield to it longer, we shall have to surrender all the principles which lie at the foundation of a republican government.—*Newark Mercury.*

The Paine Discovery.—A scientific friend, who has been experimenting with Paine's new magneto-electric apparatus, says that its power of resolving water into gas, for purposes of light and heat, is but one of many valuable attributes it possesses. Metals are precipitated from their solutions in less time than the same weight could be melted and poured from the crucible. Crystals have been formed from solutions of silex, having faces of 3-16 in three hours. A force of 68 pounds, moving through 1 foot per minute, generates a current equal to that of a Grove's battery of 300 cups—a force sufficient to work the oceanic telegraph. The spark, when a circuit is broken, is truly terrific, being at times 28 inches long. Mr. Paine is now engaged duplicating the apparatus, to meet a business engagement; this is nearly complete, and the public will soon have an opportunity of witnessing the great bone of contention over which gas committees and philosophers have growled so long.—*Worcester* (*Mass.*) *Spy.*

How much Sugar do we Eat.—Last year there were consumed in this country about 705,000,000 pounds of cane sugar, and 27.000,000 pounds of maple sugar. This gives more than 24 pounds of cane sugar and one pound of maple sugar to every man, woman and child. This does not include molasses or honey. If this sugar were put into barrels holding 200 pounds, and each barrel occupied the space of three square feet only, it would require 336 acres of land for it to stand upon. The barrels, if placed in a row, would reach 220 miles. If this sugar was put up in paper packages of five pounds each, it would require 146,400,000 sheets of wrapping paper; and if only a yard of string was used to each package, there would be required 439,200,000 feet, or 83,000 miles, of string—more than three times enough to go round the world. If every retail clerk sold a hundred pounds of sugar each day, it would require nearly 25,000 clerks to sell it all in a year. If the dealers, wholesale and retail together, made a profit of only two cents a pound on this sugar, these profits alone would amount to nearly $15,000,000.

Think Again: a Story about the Queen.—It is related that, during the first few days of the reign of Queen Victoria, then a girl between nineteen and twenty years of age, some sentences of a court martial were presented for her signature. One was death for desertion; a soldier was condemned to be shot, and his death-warrant was presented to the Queen for her signature. She read it, paused, looked up to the officer who laid it before her, and said, "Have you nothing to say in behalf of this man?" "Nothing, he has deserted three times," said the officer. "Think again, my lord," was the reply. "And," said the gallant veteran, as he related the circumstances to his friends (for it was none other than the Duke of Wellington), "seeing her Majesty so earnest about it, I said, he is certainly a bad soldier; but there was somebody who spoke as to his good character, and he may be a good man for aught I know to the contrary." "Oh, thank you a thousand times!" exclaimed the youthful Queen; and hastily writing "pardoned," in large letters, on the fatal page, she sent it across the table, with a hand trembling with eagerness and beautiful emotion.

Governor Elect of Iowa.—A correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* furnishes some facts respecting James W. Grimes, recently elected Governor of Iowa, from which we copy the following statement: "Mr. Grimes is now about forty years old. He was educated at Dartmouth College, and studied law in the office of James Walker, at Peterboro', N. H. He began his professional career very early, being less than twenty-one when he settled in Iowa, and was chosen first Mayor of the infant city of Burlington. For many years he has stood at the head of the bar in Iowa, and engaged in extensive circuit practice."

The Boston *Transcript* remarks: "It is a singular circumstance that the first Anti-Nebraska candidate elected Governor of a State always before Democratic should be a native of the same town in which President Pierce was born. We learn from the Nashau *Telegraph*, that Mr. Grimes, the newly elected Governor of Iowa, is the youngest son of the late John Grimes, Esq., of Hillsborough, N. H. The sons of the 'Granite State' are thus elected to high stations by the people of the Free West, to rebuke the other son of New Hampshire."

DIED.

Barnard.—In Oxford township, Chester County, Pa., on the 11th of Eighth month, 1854, suddenly, of paralysis of the brain, John Barnard aged 33 years. He was a man of sterling integrity, generous and noble in all the relations of life, clear in his moral perceptions, and earnestly devoted to the Christian reforms which are the glory of the present age His religion was practical rather than theoretical, humanitarian rather than theological in its manifestations. The wretched inebriate, the flying fugitive from slavery, and the poor and afflicted of every class, found in him a faithful friend. He was unwavering in the defence of what he believed to be truth, however unpopular, and his influence was directed against every institution and every custom which he thought calculated to impair the happiness of any portion of the human family. With all his firmness, he was so gentle, affable, and unassuming as to win the respect and love of all who knew him. His funeral was attended by a large number of persons who, feeling his departure as a personal loss, were qualified to enter into sympathy with his bereaved widow, and fatherless child.

W. B.

Philadelphia Market.

Flour and Meal.—The receipts and stock of Flour continue light. The quotations are about $9 a $9 25 per bbl. for standard brands, and $9 50 a $10 50 for extra. Last sales of Rye Flour at $6 50 per bbl. Sales of Pennsylvania Corn Meal at $4 per bbl.

Grain.—Wheat is rather more inquired after at $1 92 a $1 95 for new prime red, and $2 04 a $2 8 for new white. Rye continues scarce. Southern at 110, and Pennsylvania is wanted at 115 cents per bushel. Corn is scarce, and in demand, at 92 for yellow, afloat, and 93 cents in store. Oats are scarce. Sales of Southern at 51 cents.

Cattle Market.—The offerings of Beef Cattle during the past week amounted to about 1,500 head, 250 of which were sent to New York. Prices stand about the same as at our last quotations, viz: at $7 a $9 per 100 lbs. Cows—Range from $18to $40 each, according to quality. Hogs.—About 500 offered, and sold at $6 a $6 75. Sheep and Lambs range from $3 to $5 75, as in quality.

Special Notices.

☞ Twenty-First National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.—To be held in City of Boston, Mass., during the Christmas Week of 1854.—The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar beg leave to present their appeal for aid and sympathy once again to every lover of Freedom, whose eye this paper shall reach. We do it in the spirit of that hope which is power, pledging our own most earnest exertions in the slave's behalf, and feeling therefore at liberty to implore the same at the hands and hearts of others.

The present is no time for faithlessness, or delay, or inaction. Its thronging events announce that the *Hour* draws nigh which is to decide, in this nation, the great conflict of Freedom with Slavery. To such an hour shall *Men* be wanting? Shall it find a people weak, timid, selfish, alive only to material success and enjoyment, or shall it be able to summon to its emergency the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the religious faith that bring in their very nature the assurance of success?

The cruelty, the baseness, the danger of slavery is fast becoming apparent to the whole North. Her next lesson must be, that no human legislation can sanctify crime; that if, indeed, slavery be a sin against God and an outrage on man, all laws for its support are part and parcel of the original atrocity, and are to be disobeyed at all hazards.

The most abominable crimes ever perpetrated against humanity have been committed in the name and under the sanction of Law. The persecutions of the early Christians, the persecutions of all the seceders from the dominant church in centuries gone by, the Inquisition, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Witchcraft Delusion of New England, the recent imprisonment of the Madiai, are examples of the truth of what we say. The legal enactments of their day gave sanction to them all even as to the Fugitive Slave Law now.

For the authors of these deeds, shall it be more tolerable in the day of judgment that they trampled under foot the commandments of God, *legally?*

It is as *individuals*, that people must learn their duty touching this matter. The impious and shallow folly which supposes that men as Commissioners, or Marshals, or Soldiers, or Attorneys, can aid in the execution of atrocious enactments without the same amount of guilt before God and man as if it were not "iniquity framed by law," must be met and exposed. When men give account to God for deeds done in the body, this refuge of lies cannot stand. Let us sweep it away now by such earnest promulgation of light and truth on the duty of individual responsibility that no man shall say he sinned ignorantly.

The diffusion and support of those great principles of Justice that underlie the Universe is the work that now claims our labour. For our foundation principle, we assume *the right of a man to himself as against the world*, and we accept every consequence that legitimately flows from this doctrine.

It is in Boston, in the United States of America, in the nineteenth century, where the Declaration of Independence has been yearly read amid the public solemnities and rejoicings for more than seventy years, that this language will be esteemed fanatical, perhaps treasonable. To stir to their inmost depths our own or other hearts, can we add a stronger motive than that presented by such a statement?

All disposed to co-operate with us are requested to communicate with the undersigned Committee.

Anne Warren Weston,	Anne Greene Phillips,
Mary May,	Louisa Loring,
Maria Weston Chapman,	Helen E. Garrison,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Henrietta Sargent,
Mary Gray Chapman,	Eliza Lee Follen,
Susan C. Cabot,	Caroline F. Williams,
Mary Willey,	Evelina A. S. Smith,
Sarah Russell May,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,	Mary H. Jackson,
Elizabeth Gay,	Abby Francis,

Anna Shaw Greene.

☞ Nineteenth Annual Anti-Slavery Fair of Pennsylvania.—The Committee of Arrangements for the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair invite their coadjutors to commence, at a very early period, their preparations for the Bazaar of 1854. The great success which rewarded their labours, in this department of Anti-Slavery effort, last year, encourage to renewed exertion. The Committee are resolved to do all in their power to make the Fair of 1854 superior to that of any previous year. To accomplish this they rely upon the hearty co-operation of those who have, for many years past, aided them in these labours. They hope to enlist in the work, others, also, who have hitherto stood by, as unconcerned spectators of our enterprise, or have been content to bestow upon it their friendly wishes, excusing themselves from active participation in our efforts. We earnestly invite all who desire that American slavery shall be abolished, to join us in this work. The present condition of our country forbids every true patriot to be inactive now. The efforts which are being made to extend the curse of slavery over an immense portion of our free territory should be met by most energetic action on the part of the opponents of slavery. The battle between freedom and slavery is daily thickening, and if it is to be won for freedom, it must be by the ceaseless vigilance, the untiring energy, of the true friends of Liberty.

Our Annual Fair is an important instrumentality in our enterprise, because it furnishes money, the sinews of war. Nor thus alone; its direct moral influences on public sentiment have been, again and again, proved. Our former fellow-labourers will scarcely need suggestions from us, respecting the modes of working for the Fair. To others who have had less experience in the work, we would say, that almost any marketable commodity will find a sale in our Bazaar. Donations of manufactured articles, or materials for manufacture; of dry goods; of groceries; of products of the farm, the garden, or the dairy; of toys, books, pictures, stationary, &c., &c., will be very acceptable. They who have time to bestow, may use it, most profitably, in preparing various kinds of *nice needle* work. This is much in requisition, and commands speedy sales.

To all who are in any degree interested in our cause, we say, that any donations of money, or the equivalents of money, which may be entrusted to us, will be profitably disposed of, and the proceeds devoted to the dissemination of anti-slavery doctrines and sentiments throughout this nation.

Sarah Pugh,	Margaretta Forten,
Anna M. Hopper,	Emma Parker,
Lucretia Mott,	Sarah L. Child,
Huldah Jackson,	Anna M. Child,
Jenette Jackson,	Abby Kimber,
Mary Grew,	Martha Kimber,
Margaret Jones,	Rebecca S. Hart,
Gulielma M. Jones,	Elizabeth Gay,
Maria M. Davis,	Hannah Haydock,
Elizabeth M. Davis,	Eveline Supplee,
Emily W. Taylor,	Mary Shaw,
Sarah A. McKim,	Susan W. Shaw,
Clementine G. Ruby,	Elizabeth Carman,
Hannah L. Stickney,	Martha Carman,
Mary T. Stickney,	Mary A. Hall,
Elizabeth J. Lewis,	Lydia White,
Harriet D. Purvis,	Sarah M. Douglass,
Rebecca Plumly,	Hannah Steele,
Mary M. Jennings,	Anne Parker,
Mary Tesse,	E. Clendennon,

☞ Convention in Philadelphia. — In accordance with a vote passed at the adjournment of the Woman's Rights Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, in October, 1853, the fifth annual National Convention will be held in Philadelphia, commencing on the 18th of October, and continuing through the two succeeding days.

The subjects which will come under discussion in this Convention, as in the preceding ones, will be the equal rights of woman to all the advantages of Education, Literary, Scientific and Artistic, to full equality in all business avocations and industrial pursuits, commercial and professional; briefly, all the rights which may pertain to her as a citizen, religious, civil and political.

The wide range of subjects for discussion can scarcely fail of awakening the attention of all classes to our aims and objects; hence we invite all persons, irrespective of sex, to take part in the deliberations of the Convention, and thus contribute to the progress of truth and the redemption of humanity.

Signed on behalf of the Central Committee:

Paulina W. Davis, President.
Antoinette L. Brown, Secretary,

Editors of exchanges are requested to copy this notice and call attention to it.

☞ Meeting near Newtown.—An Education Mass Meeting will be held in M. B. Linton's woods, near Newtown, Bucks Co., Pa., on Wednesday, the 13th of September, to begin at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Samuel Aaron, of Norristown, will be the prominent speaker. Joseph Fell, the Superintendent, and some experienced Teachers of Philadelphia, will aid in Black Board exercises, &c. Scholars of the place will be present. Guests will bring their provisions.

☞ The Fifth Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held at the Masonic Hall, the first week in November next, and its managers would earnestly call the attention of all those who value freedom for themselves, and are conscious of the bold encroachments of the Slave Power upon all we have hitherto considered secure and valuable, to aid in this annual effort to raise means for the overthrow of American Slavery. Our members have always been few; and although several who have hitherto laboured with us have removed, we look with confidence to the increased interest felt in our cause in the city, to find their places made good to us, and our Bazaar made more productive than ever before, and we again ask all who have homes and anything to love in them to remember those who have nothing which may not at any moment be wrested from them, and to send us something for our Fair, as God has prospered them. Let such pour into this channel whatever of their abundance they can best spare, and we will convert it into money. We have always found ready sale for Tin, Wooden and China ware, and wish we could have much more of it. Hardware and all kinds of household furnishing is eagerly sought—shoes, brushes, soap, candles, starch, coal, fancy and dry goods, caps, books. Produce of all kinds has never been supplied to fill the demand. We trust our friends will begin now to prepare themselves for the sale, and that we shall receive contributions from sources we may never before have known of. Are there none in this great city whose hearts are better than their laws, from whom we may receive 5, 10 or 20 dollars to aid us in our preparations? Our hearts and lives are devoted to this cause, and none need greater securities that what they give shall be faithfully appropriated.

☞ Anti-Slavery Convention at Linesville.—An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Linesville, Crawford Co., Pa., commencing on Friday, the 29th day of September next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., in the Baptist Meeting-House.

Our motto is that of the Western Anti-Slavery Society—"No Union with Slaveholders"—but we invite to join with us in our Convention, *all* true lovers of liberty, of every name, sect and complexion, and those who accept the invitation will be welcomed to our *free* platform.

We hope that Erie, Mercer, and other counties in Western Pennsylvania, Ashtabula, Trumbull, and others in Ohio, will be strongly represented, and that *all* will come who can, and confer together and adopt such measures as will speedily destroy those influences, in both Church and State, which now sport and riot upon the broken hearts and crushed hopes of the millions of slaves in the country.

Competent speakers will be present to address the Convention, whose names will be announced in due time.

☞ Anti-Slavery Meetings.—The Western Anti-Slavery Society have determined to hold a series of Conventions in Northern Ohio, under their Large Tent.

At Marlboro', Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 2 and 3.
Louisville, " " " " 9 and 10.
Messopotamia, " " " " 16 and 17.

And at such other places as may be thought practicable hereafter.

C. C. Burleigh, L. B. Griffing, James Barnaby, Charles and Josephine Griffing, with other speakers, will be in attendance at the Sunday Meetings, and will hold meetings through the week intervening between the large meetings, at such places as may be determined upon by consultation with friends in attendance.

C. C. Burleigh, with others, will also hold meetings at

Alliance, Monday, September 4th.
New Castle, Pa., Thursday and Friday, 7--8.
Warren, Monday and Tuesday Sept. 11—12.
Garrettsville, Thursday, Sept. 12.
Hiram, Wednesday and Thursday, Sept. 13--14.

James Barnaby and L. B. Griffing, will hold meetings at Fowler, Wednesday and Thursday, September 13–14.

☞ Laying a Corner Stone.—A meeting will be held on First day, the 3d of Ninth month, at 9, A. M., *precisely*, to lay the corner-stone of the new meeting-house about to be erected for the use of Progressive Friends in Kennett, Pa., and vicinity, and for religious, moral, scientific and literary purposes. It is proposed to deposit under the stone such papers, pamphlets, &c., as will best illustrate the principles of the various Reforms of the day—Temperance, Peace, Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, &c.—and the spirit of Religious Liberty and Progress.

At 10, A. M., on the same day, Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and Mary Jackson, of England, will attend the stated meeting of Progressive Friends at the Brick meeting-house near the Red Lion.

☞ Anti-Slavery Convention.—To the friends of Universal Liberty, that are opposed to every species of oppression, whether of the Black, White, or Red Man—whether male or female—whether opposed physically, politically, religiously, spiritually, or in any otherwise—chattel slavery being the result of all the other systems of oppression. The friends of the slaves of America, and opponents of the above systems of oppression, will meet in Convention at Millbrook, Mercer Co., Pa., on the 4th Monday of September, 1854, at 10 o'clock A. M., and continue their sessions for three days (Sept. 25, 26 and 27).

☞ Female Anti-Slavery Society. — A Stated Meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Anti Slavery Office on the 14th inst., at 4, P. M.

☞ Notice.—Samuel Aaron will speak on Kansas and Nebraska, in the Yardleyville Hall, on the 12th of September in the evening, at the Education meeting grounds on the 14th, at 3, P. M., at the Hall in Newtown, in the evening of the same day.

Anthony Burns's
FAREWELL TO BOSTON.
June 2, 1854.
A POEM SET TO MUSIC BY J. W.
Just Published by JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.
sep 9 is3w No. 117 Washington Street, Boston.

Astounding Disclosures!
AMERICAN LAWS
AND
AMERICAN COURTS
In the Year 1854.
We have just published a work which must astonish the civilized world. It is the
PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF
MRS. MARGARET DOUGLASS,
A Southern Woman,
Who was imprisoned for one month in the common jail of Norfolk, Va., under the Laws of Virginia, for the
Crime of Teaching Free Coloured Children to Read!!!
PRICE TWENTY CENTS.
Published by JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,
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INDOCTRINATE THE CHILDREN,
And when they grow to be Men and Women, their Principles will be correct!
With this Great End in View,
we are issuing a series of Elegant
ANTI-SLAVERY PICTURE BOOKS,
Four of which, with the following titles, are now ready:
Pictures and Stories from Uncle Tom's Cabin.
The Edinburgh Doll, and other Tales.
Grandmother's Stories for Little Children.
Minnie May, and other Rhymes.
These Books are Elegantly Illustrated, and are sold at retail for 12 1-2 cents, and at One Dollar per doz. Anti-Slavery parents will see the importance of circulating such books. Published by JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.,
sep9 is2m 117 Washington street, Boston.

Female Medical College of Pennsylvania.
FIFTH ANNUAL SESSION.
The next course of lectures in this Institution will commence on Saturday, Sept. 30th, 1854, and continue twenty-three weeks, closing on Saturday, March 12th, 1855.
FACULTY.
David J. Johnson, M.D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology.
Ellwood Harvey, M.D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine.
Ann Preston, M.D., Professor of Physiology.
Edwin Fussell, M.D., Professor of Anatomy.
Mark G. Kerr, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica and General Therapeutics.
Kersey G. Thomas, M.D., Professor of Surgery.
Ellwood Harvey, M.D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children.
William Elder, M.D., Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence.
Almira L. Fowler, M.D., Demonstrator of Anatomy and Chemistry.
For further information, or for copies of the Annual Announcement, application may be made to the Dean of the Faculty. DAVID J. JOHNSON, M.D.,
3t is 229 Arch street, Philadelphia.

Notice is hereby given, that Letters of Administration of the Estate of Wm. McKim, deceased, late of Altoona, Blair County, have been granted to the subscriber, residing in Philadelphia. All persons holding claims against said Estate, are requested to present the same, and those indebted to make payment, without delay to J. M. McKIM, Administrator,
31 N. 5th St., Philadelphia.
Sept. 9th, 1854—6t.

New Book Store for New Books, 134 Arch street, Philadelphia. THOMAS CURTIS invites the attention of his friends and the public to his stock of Books, Stationery, &c., which he has selected with great care and attention to the wants of the age. Every work affecting the interests of society and of a reformatory character will be obtained soon as published. A great variety of Liberal Books, wholesale and retail. Any rare books imported from Europe. Engravings, Porte-monnaies, Card Cases, Gold Pens and Pencils, &c. Persons residing in the country will have their orders promptly executed. tf

Miscellaneous Department.

AMUSING TRIALS FOR THE FLITCH.

[From the London News and Chronicle.]

THE FLITCH OF BACON; OR, THE CUSTOM OF DUNMOW. By W. Harrison Ainsworth. G. Routledge.

PERHAPS it may be claimed as an illustration of an increased love of truthfulness in the good conservatives of Essex, that the "Flitch" has not been claimed by any married couple since 1751, for there will always be persons incredulous enough to doubt the soundness of any claim, past or present. Indeed, we may put it to the reader, how many married couples of his own acquaintance he thinks could conscientiously swear that they had lived together in perfect amity for a twelvemonth and a day, and never, for a single moment, offended each other in thought or deed or word? Let him read the terms of the oath, and then review in his mind the whole circle of his friends:

THE OATH.

You shall swear by Custom of Confession,
That you ne'er made nuptial transgression;
Nor since you were married man and wife
By household brawls or contentious strife,
Or otherwise at bed or at board
Offended each other in deed or word:
Or since the parish clerks said Amen,
Wished yourselves unmarried again:
Or in a Twelvemonth and a Day
Repented not in thought any way;
But continued true and in desire
As when you joined hands in holy quire.
If to these Conditions, without all fear,
Of your own accord you will freely swear;
A whole Gammon of Bacon you shall receive,
And bear it hence with love and good leave;
For this is our Custom of Dunmow well known:
Though the pleasure be ours, the Bacon's your own.

The list of rejected claimants, as given by Mr. Ainsworth, is a long one. In 1702 the claim of a tailor was disallowed because it was proved by a credible witness that Tabitha, his wife, had on one occasion styled her husband "the ninth part of a man." The next couple had received the flitch, but words ensuing between them as they got into the chair, the prize was held to be forfeited, and they were deprived of it accordingly. A claim on the part of Sir Conyers de Gaunt, of Waltham, and Dame Arabella, his spouse, excited much attention, owing to the importance of the parties, and the peculiarity of the circumstances:

"Considerable disparity, it appears, existed between the pair in point of age—Sir Conyers being nigh seventy, and described as a battered old beau, while Lady de Gaunt was a very beautiful young woman, of three-and-twenty, who had been an actress, and was well known by her maiden name of Bell Fairbank, but not a whisper had been breathed against her fair fame. Twenty witnesses examined. All proved the entire happiness of the parties; and some declared they had never seen such a couple before. This phrase appearing ambiguous, was explained by the witnesses to mean that they had never known two wedded persons so much attached to each other. Twenty-first witness (a female) declared she had once heard her ladyship say, 'Better be an old man's darling, than a young man's warling.' Held an objection; but might be overruled, if nothing stronger appeared. Next witness (a discharged housemaid) swore she had given her ladyship a note, which had been hastily concealed as Sir Conyers was heard approaching. Mr. Humdrum, the head valet-de-chambre, had given witness the letter. Mr. Humdrum recalled, reluctantly admitted the truth of the statement, and being further interrogated, confessed that the note was from Charles Clipsby, her ladyship's cousin, who had been forbidden the house by Sir Conyers. Why was Charles Clipsby forbidden the house? To this demand from the court, Mr. Humdrum professed utter inability to reply. The next and last witness, Juliana Clipsby, wife of the before-mentioned Charles, declared that her husband was neither cousin, nor relation in any degree to Lady de Gaunt, but had been passed off as such as a blind, for purposes which would be apparent to the court when she read a letter from her ladyship, which she had taken from her husband's pockets, wherein Sir Conyers was described as an old dupe and dotard, with sundry other epithets by no means complimentary to him, or expressive of affection on the part of his lady. The court declined to hear the letter read in full, and at once rejected the application. Memorandum to this case: Sir Conyers not only lost the Flitch, but his wife into the bargain; for, separating from her in consequence of the disclosures made in the course of the investigation, he subsequently obtained a divorce."

Humphrey Chickweed, of Romford, and Lettice, did very well till they came to the couplet:

"Or since the parish clerks said amen,
Wished yourselves unmarried again."

Hereupon Lettice remarked that people could not help their thoughts. Being questioned as to the meaning of the expression, she replied that "she might sometimes have *thought* she had better have remained single, but she had never given *utterance* to the wish." Of course, she did not carry off the Flitch. Mrs. Trinket, of Billericay, said that she could not positively swear that she loved her husband Timothy as fervently as she did on the day of her marriage, and, therefore, desired to omit the lines:

"But continued true and in desire
As when they joined hands in holy quire."

But the hardest case of all appears to be that of Dick Honeymoon, of Braintree, and Theriaca, his wife, "who lived in perfect love and amity for a whole twelvemonth, and then, as appeared on inquiry, had words on the day over."

At the time Mr. Ainsworth has fixed for his amusing story, only two claims had been made with success in two centuries, and it was then the middle of the third, that is, in 1750. Though a flitch of bacon was regularly salted and dried, and proclamation constantly made at the Court Baron of Little Dunmow that it was ready for delivery to any applicants on due fulfilment of the conditions annexed to the gift, the prize was never won.

The applicants were numerous, but the conditions were too hard. Two couples are now conceiving themselves entitled to the prize. One of the husbands is Jovial Jonas, landlord of the Old Inn, who, up to the time of the commencement of the story, had not been able to make the necessary affirmation of any of his unions:

A CANDIDATE FOR THE FLITCH.

Any, we say, for he had been thrice married, and in each instance the match was so ill-sorted that both parties often sighed for freedom from their fetters. Jonas's first wife was a shrew, and never allowed him a moment's peace; his second was soft-spoken enough, but a sad flirt, who drove him nearly distracted with jealousy; and his third cared more about the bottle than she did about him. Nothing daunted, and animated by the same ambition as before, Jonas married again, in the full belief that this time his effort would be crowned with success. And the odds seemed now rather more in his favour, for his fourth wife, Nelly, was not only by far the prettiest of the bunch, but very amiable, and apparently very much attached to him. Moreover, Nelly was as anxious to gain the flitch as her husband; and that was something. The worst that could be said of her was that she was a little disposed to coquetry, and liked flattery; "but this," Jonas said, "was quite natural in a pretty young woman." As to her personal graces, he had been known to sum them up thus: "There is not too much of Nelly—not half so much as there was of my last wife, Chloe—but what there is is good, and of the right sort. Her eyes are brighter than my first wife's, Kate—you recollect Kate's black eyes, eh, neighbour?—and her waist is trimmer, and her ankles neater than Jane's—my second—you remember Jenny, neighbour—a fine woman, but rather too free in her manners—in short, Nelly's worth 'em all three put together. I'm a lucky man, neighbour—by the marry maskins! I am. I envy no man his wife—not even you—and I care not if any man envies me, seeing I'm now as sure of the flitch as I am that my name's Jonas—Jovial Jonas—ha! ha!—I mean to claim it when the time of probation is over. So look out for rare doings, neighbour—rare doings—ho! ho!"

The character of the other couple, their devotion and ultimate triumph; and how Nelly's coquetry destroyed her husband's hopes, are all pleasantly told, and the ghost story—for it is too much to expect an entire volume from Mr. Ainsworth without a little episode of that sort—makes an agreeable shade; for, like Professor Anderson's magic, though very mysterious, it can all be explained. Jovial Jonas, sad to say, erred as well as his wife, having, in a moment of excessively high spirits, had the misfortune to meet his pretty servant Peggy just under the misletoe. The little incident that followed had a witness, too, in the girl's lover, and all this came out at

THE TRIAL FOR THE FLITCH.

Carotty Dick objected to be sworn, but a glance from Peggy, who was close at hand, quickly brought him to, and he gulped down his scruples. A very perplexing interrogatory was put to him by the court.—Had he ever known his master guilty of indiscretion?—"What maun I say to that, Peggy?"—Dick roared, amid the general laughter of the court.—"Speak the truth, of course," the steward rejoined, frowning.—"What be indiscretion, then?"—"Making love to a neighbour's wife," the squire intimated.—"Oh, I never knowd master guilty o' that," the ostler answered, scratching his head.—This being all that could be extracted from Dick, he was sent down.

Peggy came next, and she looked at Mr. Roper with a confident smile, as much as to say, catch me if you can. She extolled her master and missis to the skies, and only hoped, if ever she married, she might just find such another husband as Mr. Nettlebed. Did her master ever exhibit jealousy of his wife? Jealousy—not he! There wasn't a patienter man breathing than Mr. Nettlebed. Was his patience ever tried, then? Oh yes, he put up with a great deal. A great deal of what—scolding—ill-usage—bad temper—what? Oh no, nothing of that kind. Missus never scolded, and never was ill-tempered, and master submitted to everything. Perhaps she considered submission a merit in her husband? The greatest merit he could possess. Mr. Nettlebed never said "No" to his wife, and consequently was the best of husbands. Did Mrs. Nettlebed ever make any unreasonable requests of her husband? Unreasonable—no. Master never denied missis anythin' she asked. If he did grumble a bit, it was behind her back.—Then he did grumble occasionally?—Of course. It was human nature. Everybody grumbled. People couldn't live without it.—True. And therefore, perhaps, Mrs. Nettlebed sometimes grumbled!—A little, maybe, now and then. But Lor' bless you, never before master. Misses never let him see a cross look, or hear a cross word, however much she must be put out.—Oh! then, she *was* put out sometimes. With her husband—eh?—Lor' bless you, no—with Dick—with cook—with Tom Tapster—with me—never with master!

Mr. Roper declined to ask any more questions, and Peggy went down, fully satisfied with what she had done.

* * * *

"Recall Carroty Dick," the squire cried. And as the red-polled ostler reappeared, with a cloud upon his brow, he said to him—"Captain Juddock has affirmed that he saw some familiarities between your master and Peggy. What is your opinion as to the correctness of the statement?"

"My opinion be that it's true," Dick replied, with gloomy rage. "I saw him kiss her, myself."

"Oh, indeed—when?"

"Last Christmas, under the misletoe-bough—but I've often seen him kiss her since."

"You have!" Nelly screamed. "Oh! the faithless little wretch."

"There, now you have done it, Dick," Peggy cried; "and you have done for yourself, too—for you shall never have me."

"I dunna care," the ostler replied, sullenly—"I've had my revenge."

There is an air of rural simplicity and joviality in this book which is almost as new in such stories as it is refreshing when found. We wish Mr. Ainsworth had never applied his imagination to less objectionable scenes.

PRE-RAPHAELITISM.

"THE doom of the arts of Europe went forth from that chamber, and it was brought about in great part by the very excellencies of the man who had thus marked the commencement of decline. The perfection of execution and the beauty of feature which were attained in his works, and in those of his great contemporaries, rendered finish of execution and beauty of form the chief objects of all artists; and thenceforward execution was looked for rather than thought, and beauty rather than veracity.

"And as I told you, these are the two secondary causes of the decline of art; the first being the loss of moral purpose. Pray note them clearly. In mediæval art, thought is the first thing, execution the second; in modern art execution is the first thing, and thought the second. And again, in mediæval art, truth is first, beauty is second; in modern art, beauty is first, truth second. The mediæval principles led *up* to Raphael, and the modern principles lead *down* from him.

"Now, first, let me give you a familiar illustration of the difference with respect to execution. Suppose you have to teach two children drawing, one thoroughly clever and active-minded, the other dull and slow; and you put before them Jullien's chalk studies of heads—*etudes à deux crayons*—and desire them to be copied. The dull child will slowly do your bidding, blacken his paper and rub it white again, and patiently and painfully, in the course of three or four years, attain to the performance of a chalk head, not much worse than his original, but still of less value than the paper it is drawn upon. But the clever child will not, or will only by force consent to this discipline. He finds other means of expressing himself with his pencil somehow or another; and presently you find his paper covered with sketches of his grandfather and grandmother, and uncles, and cousins—sketches of the room, and the house, and the cat, and the dog, and the country outside, and everything in the world he can set his eyes on; and he gets on, and even his child's work has a value in it—a truth which makes it worth keeping; no one knows how precious, perhaps, that portrait of his grandfather may be, if any one has but the sense to keep it till the time when the old man can be seen no more up the lawn, nor by the wood. That child is working in the middle-age spirit—the other in the modern spirit.

"But there is something still more striking in the evils which have resulted from the modern regardlessness of truth. Consider, for instance, its effect on what is called historical painting. What do you at present *mean* by historical painting? Now-a-days, it means the endeavouring, by the power of imagination, to portray some historical event of past days. But in the middle ages, it meant representing the act of *their own* days; and that is the only historical painting worth a straw. Of all the wastes of time and sense which modernism has invented—and they are many—none are so ridiculous as this endeavour to represent past history. What do you suppose our descendants will care for our imaginations of the events of former days? Suppose the Greeks, instead of representing their own warriors as they fought at Marathon, had left us nothing but their imaginations of Egyptian battles; and suppose the Italians, in like manner, instead of portraits of Can Grande and Dante, or of Leo the Tenth and Raphael, had left us nothing but imaginary portraits of Pericles and Miltiades? What fools we should have thought them! how bitterly we should have been provoked with their folly! And that is precisely what our descendants will feel towards us, so far as our grand historical and classical schools are concerned. What do we care, they will say, what those 19th century people fancied about Greek and Roman history! If they had left us a few plain and rational sculptures and pictures of their own battles, and their own men, in their everyday dress, we should have thanked them. Well, but, you will say, we *have* left them portraits of our great men, and paintings of our great battles. Yes, you have indeed, and that is the only historical painting that you either have, or can have; but you don't *call* that historical painting. You don't thank the men who do it; you look down upon them and dissuade them from it, and tell them they don't belong to the grand schools. And yet they are the only true historical painters, and the only men who will produce any effect on their own generation, or any other. Wilkie was an historical painter, Chantrey an historical sculptor, because they painted, or carved, the veritable things and men they saw, not men and things as they believed they might have been, or should have been. But no one tells such men they are historical painters, and they are discontented with what they do; and poor Wilkie must needs travel to see the grand school, and imitate the grand school, and ruin himself. And you have had multitudes of other painters ruined, from the beginning, by that grand school. There was Etty, naturally as good a painter as ever lived, but no one told him what to paint, and he studied the antique, and the grand schools, and painted dances of nymphs in red and yellow shawls to the end of his days. Much good may they do you! He is gone to the grave, a lost mind. There was Flaxman, another naturally great man, with as true an eye for nature as Raphael—he stumbles over the blocks of the antique statues—wanders in the dark valley of their ruins to the end of his days. He has left you a few outlines of muscular men straddling and frowning behind round shields. Much good may they do you! Another lost mind. And of those who are lost namelessly, who have not strength enough even to make themselves known, the poor pale students who lie buried forever in the abysses of the great schools, no account can be rendered; they are numberless.

"And the wonderful thing is, that of all these men whom you now have come to call the great masters, there was *not one* who confessedly did not paint his own present world, plainly and truly. Homer sang of what he saw; Phidias carved what he saw; Raphael painted the men of his own time in their own caps and mantles; and every man who has risen to eminence in modern times has done so altogether by his working in their way, and doing the things he saw. How did Reynolds rise? Not by painting Greek women, but by painting the glorious little ladies this, and ladies that, of his own time. How did Hogarth rise? Not by painting Athenian follies, but London follies. Who are the men who have made an impression upon yourselves—upon your own age? I suppose the most popular painter of the day is Landseer. Do you suppose he studied dogs and eagles out of the Elgin Marbles? And yet in the very face of these plain, incontrovertible, all visible facts, we go on from year to year with the base system of Academy teaching, in spite of which every one of these men have risen: I say *in spite* of the entire method and aim of our art-teaching. It destroys the greater number of its pupils altogether; it hinders and paralyzes the greatest. There is not a living painter whose eminence is not in spite of everything he has been taught from his youth upwards, and who, whatever his eminence may be, has not suffered much injury in the course of his victory. For observe: this love of what is called ideality or beauty in preference to truth, operates not only in making us choose the past rather than the present for our subjects, but it makes us falsify the present when we do take it for our subject. I said just now that portrait-painters were historical painters—so they are; but not good ones, because not faithful ones. The beginning and end of modern portraiture is adulation. The painters cannot live but by flattery; we should desert them if they spoke honestly. And therefore we can have no good portraiture; for in the striving after that which is *not* in their model, they lose the inner and deeper nobleness which *is* in their model. I saw not long ago, for the first time, the portrait of a man, whom I knew well—a young man, but a religious man and one who had suffered much from sickness. The whole dignity of his features and person depended upon the expression of serene, yet solemn, purpose sustaining a feeble frame; and the painter, by way of flattering him, strengthened him, and made him athletic in body, gay in countenance, idle in gesture; and the whole power and being of the man himself were lost. And this is still more the case with our public portraits. You have a portrait, for instance, of the Duke of Wellington at the end of the North Bridge—one of the thousand equestrian statues of Modernism—studied from the show-riders of the amphitheatre, with their horses on their hind-legs in the sawdust. Do you suppose that was the way the Duke sat when your destinies depended on him? when the foam hung from the lips of his tired horse, and its wet limbs were dashed with the bloody slime of the battle-field, and he himself sat anxious in his quietness, grieved in his fearlessness, as he watched, scythe-stroke by scythe-stroke, the gathering in of the harvest of death? You would have done something had you thus left his image in the enduring iron, but nothing now.

"But the time has at last come for all this to be put an end to; and nothing can well be more extraordinary than the way in which the men have risen who are to do it. Pupils in the same schools, receiving precisely the same instruction which for so long a time has paralyzed every one of our painters—these boys agree in disliking to copy the antique statues set before them. They copy them as they are bid, and they copy them better than any one else; they carry off prize after prize, and yet they hate their work. At last they are admitted to study from the life; they find the life very different from the antique, and say so. Their teachers tell them the antique is the best, and they mustn't copy the life. They agree among themselves that they like the life, and that copy it they will. They do copy it faithfully, and their masters forthwith declare them to be lost men. Their fellow-students hiss them whenever they enter the room. They can't help it; they join hands and tacitly resist both the hissing and the instruction. Accidentally, a few prints of the work of Giotto, a few casts from those of Ghiberti, fall into their hands, and they see in these something they never saw before—something intensely and everlastingly true. They examine farther into the matter; they discover for themselves the greater part of what I have laid before you to-night; they form themselves into a body, and enter upon that crusade which has hitherto been victorious. And which will be absolutely and triumphantly victorious. The great mistake which has hitherto prevented the public mind from fully going with them must soon be corrected. That mistake was the supposition that instead of wishing to recur to *principles* of the early ages, these men wished to bring back the *ignorance* of the early ages. This notion, grounded first on some hardness in their earlier works, which resulted—as it must always result—from the downright and earnest effort to paint nature as in a looking glass, was fostered partly by the jealousy of their beaten competitors, and partly by the pure, perverse, and hopeless ignorance of the whole body of art-critics, so called, connected with the press. No notion was ever more baseless or more ridiculous. It was asserted that the Pre-Raphaelites did not draw well, in the face of the fact, that the principal member of their body, from the time he entered the schools of the Academy, had literally encumbered himself with the medals, given as prizes for drawing. It was asserted that they did not draw in perspective, by men who themselves knew no more of the perspective than they did of astrology; it was asserted that they sinned against the appearances of nature, by men who had never drawn so much as a leaf or blossom from nature in their lives. And, lastly, when all these calumnies or absurdities would tell no more, and it began to be forced upon men's unwilling belief that the style of the Pre-Raphaelites *was* true and was according to nature, the last forgery invented respecting them is, that they copy photographs. You observe how completely this last piece of malice defeats all the rest. It admits they are true to nature, though only that it may deprive them of all merit in being so. But it may itself be at once refuted by the bold challenge to their opponents to produce a Pre-Raphaelite picture, or anything like one, by themselves copying a photograph.

Let me at once clear your minds from all these doubts, and at once contradict all these calumnies.

Pre-Raphaelitism has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth in all that it does, obtained by working everything down to the most minute detail, from nature, and from nature only.* Every Pre-Raphaelite landscape background is painted to the last touch in the open air, from the thing itself. Every Pre-Raphaelite figure, however studied in expression, is a true portrait of some living person. Every minute accessory is painted in the same manner. And one of the chief reasons for the violent opposition with which the school has been attacked by other artists, is the enormous cost of care and labour which such a system demands from those who adopt it, in contradistinction to the present slovenly and imperfect style.

"This is the main Pre-Raphaelite principle. But the battle which its supporters have to fight is a hard one; and for that battle they have been fitted by a very peculiar character.

"You perceive that the principal resistance they have to make is to that spurious beauty, whose attractiveness had tempted men to forget, or to despise, the more noble quality of sincerity: and in order at once to put them beyond the power of temptation from this beauty, they are, as a body, characterized by a total absence of sensibility to the ordinary and popular forms of artistic gracefulness; while, to all that still lower kind of prettiness, which regulates the disposition of our scenes upon the stage, and which appears in our lower art, as in our annuals, our commonplace portraits, and statuary, the Pre-Raphaelites are not only dead, but they regard it with contempt and aversion approaching to disgust. This character is absolutely necessary to them in the present time; but it, of course, occasionally renders their work comparatively unpleasing. As the school becomes less aggressive, and more authoritative—which it will do—they will enlist into their ranks men who will work, mainly, upon their principles, and yet embrace more of those characters which are generally attractive, and this great ground of offence will be removed.

"Again: you observe that, as landscape painters, their principles must, in great part, confine them to mere foreground work; and singularly enough, that they may not be tempted away from this work, they have been born with comparatively little enjoyment of those evanescent effects and distant sublimities which nothing but the memory can arrest, and nothing but a daring conventionalism portray. But for this work they are not needed. Turner had done it before them; he, though his capacity embraced everything, and though he would sometimes, in his foregrounds, paint the spots upon a dead trout, and the dyes upon a butterfly's wing, yet for the most part delighting to begin at that very point where Pre-Raphaelitism becomes powerless.

"Lastly. The habit of constantly carrying everything up to the utmost point of completion deadens the Pre-Raphaelites in general to the merits of men who, with an equal love of truth up to a certain point, yet express themselves habitually with speed and power, rather than with finish, and give abstracts of truth rather than total truth. Probably to the end of time artists will more or less be divided into these classes, and it will be impossible to make men like Millais understand the merits of men like Tintoret; but this is the more to be regretted because the Pre-Raphaelites have enormous powers of imagination, as well as of realization, and do not yet themselves know of how much they would be capable, if they sometimes worked on a larger scale, and with a less laborious finish.

"With all their faults, their pictures are, since Turner's death, the best—incomparably the best—on the walls of the Royal Academy; and such works as Mr. Hunt's Claudio and Isabella have never been rivalled, in some respects never approached, at any other period of art.

"This I believe to be a most candid statement of all their faults and all their deficiencies; not such, you perceive, as are likely to arrest their progress. The 'magna est veritas' was never more sure of accomplishment than by these men. Their adversaries have no chance with them. They will gradually unite their influence with whatever is true or powerful in the reactionary art of other countries; and on their works such a school will be founded as shall justify the third age of the world's civilization, and render it as great in creation as it has been in discovery."—*Ruskin's 'Lectures on Architecture and Painting.'*

* "Or, where imagination is necessarily trusted to, by always endeavouring to conceive a fact as it really was likely to have happened, rather than as it most prettily *might* have happened. The various members of the school are not all equally severe in carrying out its principles, some of them trusting their memory or fancy very far; only all agreeing in the effort to make their memories so accurate as to seem like portraiture, and their fancy so probable as to seem like memory."

NAMES.

"The names of the Anglo-Saxons were imposed, as with us, in their infancy, by their parents. In several charters it is mentioned, that the persons therein alluded to, had been called from their cradles by the names expressed; and which they had received, 'not from accident,' but from the will of 'their parents.'

"Their names seem to have been frequently compound words, rather expressive of caprice than of appropriate meaning. The appellation of Mucil, 'large,' which Alfred's wife's father bore, may have been suggested by the size of the new-born infant; as Hwithyse, 'the white boy,' or Egbert, 'bright-eye,' might have been imposed from some peculiar appearance. But the following names, when considered as applied first in infancy, appear to be as fantastic, and as much the effusions of vanity, as the lofty names so dear to modern parents:

"Æthewulf, the noble wolf; Behtwulf, the illustrious wolf; Eadwulf, the prosperous wolf; Ealdwulf, the old wolf; Æthelwyn, noble in battle, or the noble joy; Eadric, happy and rich; Ælfred, an elf in council; Hundberht, the illustrious hound; Heardberht, the illustrious protector; Æthelheard, the noble protector; Sigered, victorious counsel; Sigeric, victorious and rich; Æthelred, noble in council; Eadmund, the prosperous patron; Eadwin, prosperous in battle; Ælfneag, tall as an elf; Dunstan, the mountain-stone; Æthelbald, noble and bold; Wulfric, powerful as a wolf; Eadward, the prosperous guardian; Ethelstan, the noble rock; Ethelbert, noble and illustrious.

"Of the female names, the meaning is more applicable, and sometimes displays better taste. We give the following as specimens, taken as they occurred:

"Æthelswytha, very noble; Selethrytha, a good threatener; Editha, the blessed gift; Elfhild, the elf of battle; Beage, the bracelet; Ethelfrithe, noble and powerful; Adeleve, the noble wife; Eadburh, the happy pledge; Heaburge, tall as a tower; Eadfled, the happy pregnancy; Adelfleda, the noble pregnancy; Ælfgiva, the elf favour; Eadgifa, the happy gift; Æthelgifa, the noble gift; Wynfreda, the peace of man; Æthelhild, the noble war-goddess; Ælfthrythe, threatening as an elf.

"In the will of a Dux Ælfred, written in 888, we have the following names, chiefly of priests and monks, who witnessed it:

"Beornhelm, the helmet of the nobles; Eardwulf, the wolf of the province; Werburg, the hedge of the city; Sigfred, the peace of victory; Beonheah, the soaring bee; Beagstan, the bracelet stone; Wulfheah, the tall wolf; Beornoth, the noble's oath; Wealdhelm, the ruling helmet; Wine, the dear one; Sæfreth, the freedom of the sea; Ceolmund, the protecting ship; Eadwald, the prosperous governor; Sigwulf, the victorious wolf.

"We will subjoin a few specimens of the names prevailing in the same families:

"A father and three daughters: Dudda, the family stem: Deorwyn, dear to man, or the precious joy; Deorswythe, very dear; Golde, golden.

"A father and his four sons: Æthelwyn, the noble joy; Æthelwold, the noble governor; Alfwold, the ruling elf; Athelsin, always noble; Æthelwyn. A brother and two sisters: Leonoric, the lion of the kingdom; Adelfleda; Adeleve, the noble wife. A husband, wife and daughter: Ridda, the horseman; Bugega, nimble as a hind; Heaburge.

"To which we may add, Ethelwulph and his four sons: Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Etheldred, Alfred.

"It has been a subject of discussion, whether the Anglo-Saxons used surnames. There can be no question that many were distinguished by appellations added to their original, or Christian names. Thus, we find a person called Wulfsic se blaca, or the pale; Thurceles hwitan, or the white; others, Æthelwerde Stameran, and Godwine Dreflan. Sometimes a person is designated from his habitation, as Ælfric at Bertune; Leonmære at Biggrafan. Very often the addition expresses the name of his father, as Ælfgare Ælfan suna, Ælmær Ælfrices suna, Sired Ælfrides suna, Godwine Wolfnothes suna, or more shortly Wulfrig Madding, Badenoth Beotting. [It is a remarkable peculiarity in some of the Mahomedan countries, and is universal in Syria, and nearly so in Arabia, that instead of the child being called from his parents, as among the Anglo-Saxons and the Northerns, with the addition of son, like our Richard-son, William-son, etc., both the eastern parents take their name from their *first-born* son. Thus the paternal person assumes the appellation of abu-Michael, or the father of Michael, because his eldest son received that name. For the same reason the maternal parent is styled om-Suleyman, the mother of Solomon.—*Jowett's Researches.* Hence, whenever we meet with the common prefix of abu, as abu-bekr, abu-taleb, etc., it always means the father of the son whose name follows the abu. This fact may lead us to consider the system of primogeniture as not merely a civil institution; it seems to have had an origin still more venerated, for we cannot avoid recollecting the ordination in Exodus, that the first-born should be considered as consecrated to God.—*Exod.*, xii., 2; nor that promise of the Messiah, descending from Abraham, which gave such importance among all his posterity, and, therefore, among its Arabian branch, to the eldest or first-born son. Primogeniture, as a principle or revered feeling of the mind, may, in this view, be supposed to have come to us from the East, with the earliest migration of our forefathers from it.] The office, trade, affinity or possession, is frequently applied to distinguish the individuals mentioned in the characters: as Leofwine Ealdorman, Sweigen Scyldwirtha, Eadwig, his mæg, Ægelpig munuc, Osword preost, Leowine se Canon, Heording gerefa, and such like. [See Hickes's Dissert. Epist. pp. 22–25.] But although it is certain that such additional appellations were occasionally used by the Anglo-Saxons, yet they appear to have been but personal distinctions, and not to have been appropriated by them as family names, in the manner of surnames with us. In the progress of civilization, the convenience of a permanent family denomination was so generally felt as to occasion the adoption of the custom. It is probable that the first permanent surnames were the appellations of the places of birth, or residence, of a favourite ancestor. To these, the caprice of individual choice or popular fancy, the hereditary pursuit of peculiar trades, and the continued possession of certain offices, added many others, especially in towns. But this custom of appropriating a permanent appellation to particular families, became established in the period which succeeded the Norman conquest. [And yet one Saxon MS. seems to express an actual surname, Hatte. Thus, "Hwita *Hatte* was a keeper of bees in Hæthfelda; and Tate *Hatte*, his daughter, was the mother of Wulfsige, the shooter; and Lulle *Hatte*, the sister of Wulfsige, Hehstan had for his wife in Weala dene. Wifus, and Dunne, and Seoloce, were born in Hæthfelda. Duding *Hatte*, the son of Wifus, is settled at Wealadene; and Ceolmund *Hatte*, the son of Dunne, is also settled there; and Æthеleah *Hatte*, the son of Seoloce, is also there; and Tate *Hatte*, the sister of Cenwald, Mæg hath for his wife at Weligan; and Ealdelm, the son of Herethrythe, married the daughter of Tate. Werlaf *Hatte*, the father of Werstan, was the rightful possessor of Hæthfelda," etc. Cott. MS. Tib. B. 6.—The above is a literal translation.] The power of the Anglo-Saxon parent over his child was limited; or at least the clergy, as soon as Christianity was introduced, began to confine it. Theodore, the second archbishop of Canterbury, in 668, allowed that a father, if compelled by necessity, might deliver up his son to a state of servitude, that is, slavery, without the child's consent. But he declared that a boy of fifteen might make himself a monk, and a girl of sixteen or seventeen might choose a religious life. Up to the age of fifteen the father might marry his daughter as he pleased; but after fifteen he was forbidden to dispose of her against her will. [Capitula Theodore ap. D'Acheri Spicel., vol. i., p. 489.]—*Turner's History of The Anglo-Saxons.*

THE last number of *Blackwood* contains a letter from its English contributor in Madrid, from which we take the following interesting extract:

"Twenty years ago, more than one-half of Spain flew to arms to defend, against the remaining portion of the nation, the questionable rights of an infant princess, whose claim to the crown owed its strength and supporters to her association with the idea of a free and constitutional government, for whose maintenance her mother pledged herself. After a sanguinary war, her partisans triumphed: the "innocent Isabel," as her subjects then called the child, for whom they had cheerfully made vast sacrifices, and freely poured out their blood, was seated—firmly, as it then appeared—upon her father's throne; and Spain, long distracted by intestine strife, hoped for tranquility, progress, and prosperity. It was but a dream. The child-queen had scarcely reached womanhood, after a stormy minority, troubled by frequent insurrections and incessant intrigues, when she began wilfully to estrange the affection and respect her subjects were so well disposed to entertain towards her. Selfish indifference to their welfare, dissolute private conduct, and, latterly, a scarcely disguised intention of imposing upon them a rule as despotic as that to escape from which they had fought in her favour, and made her their queen, are the efficacious means she has employed to render herself despised and detested. The commencement of her unpopularity was unquestionably her licentious life. Although the world has obtained some inkling of her improprieties through newspapers and other channels, it has yet no idea to what an extent they have been carried; but in Spain, it is well known to everybody. I do not echo mere gossip, or untrustworthy reports, when I tell you that the excesses that have been shared in by the present Queen of Spain find no parallel, except in the annals of the Orleans regency and of the reign of the Fifteenth Louis. To gratify her vicious propensities, the daughter of Ferdinand VII. (well worthy of her sire) has not scrupled to associate herself with men and women of low birth and station, whose companionship alone is disgraceful to one in her exalted position. In a small capital like Madrid, containing an idle and scandal-loving population, everything becomes known. It would not appear, indeed, as if very great precautions were taken to conceal the conduct which the queen ought to have known would sink her fathoms deep in her subjects' estimation. For it is to be observed, and history shows it, that Spaniards, however great the misgovernment they have submitted to, have never patiently tolerated profligacy on the part of the females of the royal family. Nor do they now. Sullen silence on the part of the people, when Majesty drives abroad, and a resolute holding aloof on the part of the more respectable portion of the aristocracy, sufficiently mark the nation's disesteem. When first this unfortunate princess abandoned the limits of propriety, the disorder of her conduct was flagrant.

"Within the last two years, or thereabouts, she has attached herself to one favourite, who has assumed great ascendancy over her, and whose ambitious aspirations, real or rumoured, have more than once excited public indignation. Considering her mother's shameful neglect of her education, and the disastrous marriage into which she was ensnared by the vilest intrigues, the Spanish nation might perhaps have been disposed to close its eyes, to a certain extent, to this *liaison*, had it been conducted with decorum, and had the object of her Majesty's preference kept strictly aloof from politics. Neither of these two conditions have been observed, and, in the latter respect especially, great offence has been given. I have already remarked that here everything gets known. Many things are doubtless exaggerated—many false reports spread; but these pass away and are forgotten, while the truth remains. It is true—and undeniably true—that a young cavalry officer of the name of Arana is all-powerful at court where he has introduced a number of his own friends, and established a sort of *coterie* or *camarilla*, that surrounds and influences the Queen. It is true, that applicants for court favour know no surer channel by which to obtain their wishes than that of this young man; that aspirants to power—I mean to the highest offices of State, to the ministry and the presidency of the council—do not scruple (such is the corruption of this country, and the vileness of its public men) to seek his society, to flatter him, and to make him their intimate companion, and continually to show themselves with him in public places; and that some of the ministers now in power do not think it beneath their personal dignity, or that of their office, to retain place by deferring to this person, and to avail themselves of his influence and intercession to carry, in high quarters, points which they otherwise might have to abandon. The ascendency acquired by this favourite over his sovereign is highly perilous, and may ultimately prove fatal to the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. It is not surprising that the daughter of Ferdinand VII. and of Queen Christina (who, although it once suited her purpose to assume the mask of liberal principles, has repeatedly proved herself a despot at heart) and the niece of the present King of Naples should be disposed to absolutism, and form plans for getting rid of those constitutional trammels which she considers an offence to her sovereignty. When the late Duke of Parma was on a visit to Madrid a few months ago, he said to his royal cousin, who was enchanted with his random scatter-brain mode of talking and acting: "They tell me you have still got some remains of old-fashioned usages here—elections and chambers and things of that kind. Why do you not give them all a kick over (*puntapie*), and be mistress in your own house?" The Queen greatly relished the advice, which was perfectly in accordance with her secret inclinations, and with the plans she has long intended to carry out as soon as opportunity offers. Her absolutist tendencies are stimulated by the favourite, who was brought up with Pezuela, the present Captain-General of Cuba, and his brother, and who, like them, has a strong leaning to a despotic government. The Spaniards know this, and detest the favourite accordingly."

STILL ANOTHER POET—ALEXANDER SMITH OUTDONE.

ONE of the cleverest satires that have recently appeared is *Firmilian—A Spasmodic Tragedy, by T. Percy Jones*, some extracts from which were published, a few months since, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, of which its author, W. E. Aytoun, the son-in-law of Professor Wilson, is the editor. Firmilian is a burlesque poem, somewhat in the style of "Faust" and "Festus," and intended to satirize some of the vulnerable authors of the day, such as Carlyle, Gilfillan, Tennyson and Alexander Smith. The "Life Drama" of the latter, which produced such an excitement in literary circles not long since, probably afforded the original suggestion of the present work. Accordingly, it abounds with the conceits of a tumid imagination, and the excesses of unregulated passion under high pressure and in its most spasmodic exercise.

In the preface to the work, Mr. T. Percy Jones, laying aside the usual modest professions of young poets, boldly avows his conviction of the merit of his performance by the remark:

"For my own part, if I conscientiously believed that my poetry was not worthy of admiration, I never would commit the impertinence of asking any one to read it."

And he concludes his preface as follows:

"I am not arrogant enough to assert that this is the finest poem which the age has produced; but I shall feel very much obliged to any gentleman who can make me acquainted with a better."

As to the charge of extravagance which may be made against the author from the moral obliquity of the character of Firmilian, who is represented as a paragon of villany as well as a sentimental poet, he defends himself by appealing to the example of Shakspeare in the characters of Iago, Richard III., the two Macbeths and Hamlet. As Hamlet, he says, was designed to represent "Constitutional Irresolution," so Firmilian may be considered to typify "Intellect without Principle." Mr. Jones further, and not without reason, maintains that the extravagance in the conception and handling of Firmilian is less glaring than is apparent in Faust, the master-piece of Goëthe. He does not pretend to blame the latter author for introducing the Devil, or the low buffooneries of Auerbach's cellar, or the witch with her hybrid apes, into his pages, but only to insist that the charge of extravagance raised by some critics is traceable solely to their own "defects in high imaginative development."

When Walter Scott had read the imitation of his style in the Rejected Addresses, he is said to have remarked, with a smile: "I must have written that myself." We should think that the perusal of some portions of Firmilian by Alexander Smith would be very likely to suggest a similar reflection to him. But the very closeness of the similarity in style—where, indeed, the merits as well as the defects are copied—between the "Life Drama" and the poem of Mr. Jones may, with many readers, impair the effect of the joke. A broad caricature, though indicating less genius and skill on the writer's part, would be more generally appreciated.

The scene of the play is laid in Badajoz. Firmilian, a student, is represented in the opening act as sitting in his study, reading, but some reflections as to the utter worthlessness of all learning lead him to fling away his Aristotle in disgust. Learning is utterly insufficient to answer the ambitious aspirations that have possessed him, he says, and then he proceeds in a long monologue to explain the grounds of his disgust and restlessness. It appears that he had been advised by a vision to seek a more imposing destiny than is usually allowed to mortals, and, in order to gain it, to go through a variety of performances which are regarded as opposed to the good order and peace of society,

"To recreate stupendous harmonies,
More grand in diapason than the roll
Among the mountains of the thunder psalm,"

to discard the gentler passions of pity, remorse and love, which affect "ungifted men," and, finally, to be "great in guilt." In that way, it was promised he would be able to make his song

——"A tempest, and to shake
The earth to its foundation."

From the time of that vision, Firmilian observes,

——"With frantic might I've striven
To give due utterance to the awful shrieks
Of him who first embrued his hand in gore,
To paint the mental spasms that tortured Cain."

Now, however well-disposed Firmilian might be to attempt this interesting subject, he soon discovers an inability to do it justice, from the fact of his never having had any personal experience in the commission of murder; for, as he says,

"What we write
Must be the reflex of the thing we know."

And, consequently, in order to write Cain, it is necessary, in the first place, to "raise Cain." He thus lays down his plan of action:

"What do I know, as yet, of homicide?
Nothing. Fool, fool! to lose thy precious time
In dreaming of what *may* be, when an act,
Easy to plan and easier to effect,
Can teach thee everything? What!—craven mind—
Shrink'st thou from doing, for a noble aim,
What, every hour, some villain, wretch, or slave,
Dares for a purse of gold? It is resolved—
I'll ope the lattice of some mortal cage
And let the soul go free!"

Firmilian then follows up this declaration by a series of atrocities which constitute the story of the play. Three college friends whom he poisons are the first victims; then a crowded cathedral is blown up by gunpowder, which he has deposited in the cellar. Neither of these exploits, however, satisfies him. A deed of more palpable villany is requisite to answer his purpose; he must murder his friend and fellow-poet Haverille, to whom he is under obligation for the most generous pecuniary aid, and he takes the occasion of meeting his benefactor on the top of the pillar of St. Stylites, to hurl him from the summit, crushing at the same time the life out of an admiring critic, Apollodorus, who is below.

But, after all his efforts, he is compelled to despair of qualifying himself to undertake his great tragedy of "Cain." He becomes so hardened by his crimes as not to be able to appreciate the difficulty of their commission. Consequently he cannot describe the wild sensations which the first murderer must have felt when he destroyed his brother. The attempt must reluctantly be abandoned to some future poet, whose feelings are more susceptible than his own. His conclusion is thus announced, in phraseology not unworthy of Alexander Smith. The definition of the office of a poet contained in it ought to satisfy the most ardent admirers of the "intense" school of modern poetry:

"'Tis not for me
To shrine that page of history in song,
And utter such tremendous cadences,
That the mere babe who hears them at the breast,
Sans comprehension or the power of thought,
Shall be an idiot to its dying hour,
I deemed my verse would make pale Hecate's orb
Grow wan and dark; and into ashes change
The radiant star dust of the milky way.
I deemed that pestilence, disease and death
Would follow every strophe—for the power
Of a true poet, prophet as he is,
Should rack creation."

Thenceforth Firmilian confines himself to the less manly and difficult undertaking of making way with his mistresses. This is done *secundem artem*, but unfortunately the fathers of the Inquisition hear of it, and, in consequence, the poetic reprobate is compelled to flee for his life. The closing scene represents Firmilian on a barren moor, surrounded with fog and mist; *ignes fatui* dance around him, and, after taunting him with a rehearsal of his several enormities, lead him to the verge of an abyss, where the curtain and the hero fall together.—*Evening Post.*

THE DEATH OF CROFTON CROKER.

THOMAS CROFTON CROKER has been taken from among us during the present week, at the age of fifty-seven. He was an Irishman in heart, and voice, and look; and was favourably known to the public by his "Fairy Legends of Ireland"; his "Legends of the Lakes; or, Sayings and Doings at Killarney"; and by what we believe was his first work, his "Researches in the South of Ireland, Illustrative of the Scenery, Architectural Remains, Manners and Superstitions of the Peasantry," derived from personal observation, and professedly from "ancient MS." He was living at Cork when he first rose into distinction; but his literary ambition was for a long time much greater than his skill as an author. His admiration of Sir Walter Scott led him into a correspondence with the great novelist, and his local information and name into a correspondence with his better-known namesake, John Wilson Croker—the Quarterly slasher—the excellent editor of the Boswell, and the ex-Secretary of the Admiralty. The fairy and traditional stories, mixed with odd bits of antiquarian intelligence, delighted Scott; while his local knowledge, excellent handwriting, and official habits, attracted the attention of Mr. Secretary Croker. Scott repaid him with letters; but Wilson Croker brought him to London and made him a clerk in the Admiralty, where he rose so rapidly that he was enabled, some four years ago, to retire with a pension of £580 a year.

Crofton Croker was small in make. In the journal of Sir Walter Scott (under the year 1826) he is thus described: "Here was Crofton Croker, little as a dwraf, keen-eyed as a hawk, and of easy prepossessing manners, something like Tom Moore." We may add that he was in no way related to the kind and unostentatious Mr. John Wilson Croker.

There was a long period of Mr. Crofton Croker's life to which all his friends look back with pleasure. He was at one time a most *clubbable* man; full of information—full of entertainment—replete with Irish fun—always amusing, with or without whiskey—unwilling to give offence—ready to talk—anxious to listen—and somewhat indifferent whether the hours of departure were before the *wee short hours* or not. He shone at the *Noviomagians*. People will ask who were the Noviomagians? Let us endeavour to satisfy them.

A knot of known and unknown antiquaries had a fancy for fixing the site of a Roman settlement in England known as Noviomagus. As will be easily imagined, they differed widely, and even learnedly, among themselves about its site. Noviomagus had as many localities as Junius has authors urging claims of peculiar pets to a still unsettled honour. They consequently became peripatetic—nay, convivial. Kent and Surrey were ransacked for every Roman and squat or settlement. They dined, they talked, they consulted, they drank. A very pleasant party was formed. Dryasdust was there—but Dryasdust was not there. Their large and little differences led to a club in London, where books and maps could be settled—and (shame to say) better wines obtained than they could get in the Weald of Kent or the commons of Surrey. Of this club Crofton Croker (now, we regret to say, no more!) was long the presiding spirit. Here he was "at home"; here he reveled in his own native wit, and here he was the soul that put fresh marrow into the standing dish of the Noviomagians—marrowbones, new and direct from Clare-market—land dedicated to that real delicacy, English marrowbones.

In missing Crofton Croker, we cannot but feel that we have lost a man who did something for letters in his day, and one who, in spite of some *now* forgivable infirmities of temper that made him quarrel too frequently with his best friends, was a man to be esteemed. But he has gone, and his "Fairy Legends" with him. Authors, when alive, are too often judged by their worst performances; when dead, they are weighed and measured by their best.—*Illustrated London News.*

THE more simply nature is supported the better, and he who considers water the best drink is truly happy.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

MORRISON & GLENN respectfully announce to the public that their Spring Style HATS are now ready. Their manner of doing business is for cash and no abatement from the price first asked. The time saved and losses avoided by this course, as well as their being operatives, enables them to sell at much lower prices and others in the trade. Neither oppressing nor being oppressed, they sell the best French Moleskin Hat for $3.50 and other qualities proportionately low. Men's and Boys Soft Hats and Caps always on hand, suitable to the season Friends' Hats made to order. No. 41 N. Sixth St., below Arch, Philadelphia.

A LARGE assortment of SALAMANDER SAFES, of various sizes, always on hand, at No. 26 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. Warranted equal to any made in the United States. EVANS & WATSON, thankful for past favours, respectfully solicit a continuance of the same. Please give us a call before purchasing elsewhere. Patent slate-lined Refrigerators, Water Filters, &c. A large assortment always on hand.
N. B. Sole Agency for Butterworth's celebrated Bank Vault and Door Locks. These locks bid defiance to all lock picks, Hobbs included.

IN North Fourth Street, above Race, at No. 61, can be found on hand Shirts, Collars, Ruffles, Wrappers, Stocks, Ties, Gloves, &c. &c. Also, Collars, Shirts, Ruffles, Stocks, &c., made to order at shortest notice and in neatest style. CYRUS WHITSON.

KENDERDINE & JUSTICE, Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic HARDWARE, S. W. corner Spring Garden and Seventh streets, Phila. Constantly on hand a general assortment of Hardware, Cutlery &c., at the lowest cash prices, wholesale or retail. Particular attention paid to furnishing Hardware for buildings.
JOSEPH R. KENDERDINE, | WARNER JUSTICE.

FAMILY COAL YARD, Broad street, second yard above Spruce street, Philadelphia. Coal from the best mines, expressly for family use, free from dust and slate, kept dry, and 2240 lbs. given to the ton. The best qualities of Lehigh and Schuylkill Red and White Ash, and of all sizes, kept constantly on hand. We would be obliged to our anti-slavery friends if they would give us a call. Orders left at the Anti-Slavery Office, 31 North Fifth street, or sent through the dispatch, will be promptly attended to. ELLISON NEWPORT & CO.

CHARLES C. JACKSON, Tailor, N. E. corner of Fifth and Arch streets, Philadelphia, would respectfully invite the attention of his friends and the public to his establishment, where a constant assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, &c., of the best quality, will be kept ready to make up to order in the best manner and on the most accommodating terms.

PHRENOLOGICAL CABINET.—Fowlers, Wells & Co., Phrenologists and Publishers, 231 Arch street, below Seventh, Philadelphia, furnish all works on Phrenology, Physiology, Water Cure, Magnetism and Phonography, wholesale and retail, at New York prices.
Professional examinations, with charts, and full written descriptions of character, day and evening. Cabinet free.

DAGUERREOTYPES!—Broadbent & Co. offer to those desiring pictures the best facilities in the art. Beautiful landscape, picturesque or plain backgrounds, at the option of the sitter; also the new and elegant style of illuminated heads.
Those who desire pictures or portraits copied, Stereoscope portraits of themselves, or miniatures on ivory or beautifully enamelled on porcelain, shall be faithfully served at 236 Chestnut st., Philadelphia.

PHRENOLOGY—Removal.—William B. Elliott's Institute and Museum is now at the spacious (Simes) building 359 Chestnut street, above 12th, Philadelphia. He has, in addition to Phrenological Books and Busts, Stationery for sale. Open day and evening to visitors—free—and for useful written descriptions of the mind and talents. From the handwriting (natural) the same will be analyzed. Price $3.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business: Every one his own Salesman.
JONES & Co., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 200 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of Clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all *must* buy alike.
The goods are all well sponged and prepared, and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with the full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price.
Remember the CRESCENT, in Market, above 6th, No. 200, Philadelphia. JONES & CO.

Removal.
DEPUY'S Spring Garden Carpet Store has been removed from 136 Spring Garden street to the S. W. corner of Eighth and Spring Garden streets, Philadelphia, and supplied with a largely increased stock of Velvet, Brussels, Thread-ply, Ingrain and Venitian Carpets; Oil Cloth, Druggets, Shades, &c., which will be sold cheap, wholesale and retail.

JOHN W. CLOTHIER & Co., No. 52 N. Fourth st. (2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail Stationery, Blank Books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual prices. English, French and American Cap, Letter and Note Papers, Envelopes, Sealing Wax, plain and fancy Wafers of every description, very superior Gold and Steel Pens, Ink and Inkstands, Sand Boxes, Wafer Cups, Paper Weights, plain and fancy Pen-holders, Drawing Pencils and Books, Bristol Board, Tracing Paper, Impression Paper, Tissue Paper, &c. Visiting and Wedding Cards engraved or written to order. Portmonnaies, Pocket Books, Portfolios, Card Cases, Bankers' Cases, Diaries, &c. All kinds of Blank Books, Drafts, Deeds, Mortgages, &c. Rodgers', Wolstenholm's and other Cutlery.
Country storekeepers and teachers supplied. Rags bought.

DAGUERREOTYPES, Stereoscopes and Illuminated Heads, taken in the highest perfection. We warrant our pictures to be satisfactory to all wishing true representations of themselves and friends.
Special attention paid to children. Copies taken with accuracy.
We invite all to call and examine specimens at our rooms, No. 340, S. E. corner of Tenth and Market streets, Philadelphia. HENRY C. PHILLIPS, PHEBE D. PHILLIPS.

PORTABLE DESK and DRESSING CASE Manufactory.—To ladies and gentlemen about to travel, the subscriber would respectfully call their attention to articles he manufactures, many of which are made expressly for travelling purposes, great care and study having been expended to render each article truly a multum in parvo; also, his well-selected stock of imported and domestic Perfumery, of the best descriptions; Brushes of all kinds, of English and American manufacture; Combs and Razors, Penknives, Scissors, and every instrument necessary for the toilet, of the most approved makers; an assortment always on hand of Desks, Dressing Cases, Ladies' Reticules, Work Cases, Portfolios, Pocket Books, Portmonnaies, Money Belts, and a general assortment of useful Fancy articles.
WM. T. FRY, Manufacturer,
227 Arch street, above Sixth, north side, Philadelphia.

CHARLES DUMMIG, 207 Chestnut street, Arcade, and 33 North Eighth street, Philadelphia, Importer of Musical Instruments, Fancy Articles and Toys, wholesale and retail.
At 207 Chestnut street, he keeps the largest assortment of Accordeons, Violins, Flutes, Guitars, Banjos, Flageolets, Fifes, Tamborines, best Italian strings. Walking Canes, of his own manufacture.
And at 33 North Eighth street, the largest variety to be found in the city of Fancy Articles and Toys, too numerous to name, suitable for Presents on birth-day, bridal, philipœne and other occasions, and also for children. In order to insure the confidence and satisfaction of his customers, he will sell at lower prices than any other Fancy or Music store in this city. His motto is—"One Price, Small Profits and Quick Sales." Among the various attractions is an Automaton Baby, which speaks. Call and examine his stock, whether you buy or not.
N. B. All kinds of Musical Instruments repaired in the best workmanship, and also taken in trade.

THOMAS ADAMSON, Jr., of the late firm of Adamson & Roberts, No. 246 Callowhill, west side, Philadelphia, invites the particular attention of purchasers to his large and carefully-selected stock of
New Style Dress Goods; India Wash Silks;
Plain and embroidered Crape Shawls; Parasols;
Neat and plain Goods for Friends; cheap Muslins and Linens;
Fine Cloths, Cassimeres and Vestings;
Cheap Cotton and Linen Pantaloon Stuffs, &c.

THOMAS W. MATTSON, Gum Shoes and Boots—130 Market street, S. W. corner of 4th, Philadelphia, offers to the trade, Sole Leather; solid riveted iron frame, iron-bound Travelling Trunks; Packing Trunks, Ladies' Bonnet Cases, Carpet Bags, Satchels, &c., by the quantity or single article, lower than they can be bought at any other place in the city.
Boots, Shoes, Goodyear's Rubber Shoes and Skates.

Philadelphia Spring Goods.
SHARPLESS BROTHERS, Philadelphia, are receiving and opening daily Dress Goods of all the new fabrics, Silks, Foulards, Grenadines, Tissues, Lawns, Organdies, Zerlines, Bareges. Also, Alpacas, Mouselines, Poplins, Shawls, Silk, Crape, Cashmere, Broche, Blankets, Flannels, Sheetings, Furnishing Goods, Irish Linens, Linen Drills, plain and best styles. Spring and Summer Goods for men and boys, Vestings, Cloths, Cassimeres, Cashmaretts.
32 South Second street.

Silver Medal Awarded by the Franklin Institute, 1852.
F. H. SMITH, N. W. corner of Fourth and Chestnut street, Philadelphia.—Porte-Monnaies, Portfolios, Bankers' Cases, Money Belts, Purses; silver, pearl, papier-mache and shell Card Cases; Needle-books; Sewing-cases, with or without the furniture; mahogany, rosewood and leather-covered Writing-desks and Dressing-cases, roll-up Writing cases for Travellers; also a handsome assortment of fancy and useful articles, fine French Perfumery, Combs, Brushes, Razor-strops, &c. &c. &c.
F. H. SMITH,
Pocket-Book and Case Manufacturer,
N. W. corner of Fourth and Chestnut street.
N. B. SOMETHING NEW.—Fine Pocket Cutlery and Scissors, Bagshaw's manufacture. Purchasers can depend upon getting a good article. If they do not give satisfaction articles will be exchanged or the money refunded.

FAMILY FLOUR STORE, No. 35 North Fifth street, near Arch, Philadelphia. From this central establishment families may procure the finest qualities of Flour to be had in the market, as care is taken to keep a constant supply of the most desirable brands. Also, Rye, Buckwheat, Indian, Oat and unbolted Wheat Meal, fresh from the mills, delivered by an obliging porter, anywhere in the city and adjoining districts, or on board the different transportation lines leaving the city.
CALEB CLOTHIER.
N. B. An assortment of choice Family Hams, both Jersey and Western.

MERRIHEW & THOMPSON, Printers, Have Removed to Nos. 2 and 4 Merchant street, above Fourth (first street S. of Market), Phila. Plain and fancy Jobbing, such as Bill Heads, Circulars, Cards, Handbills, Apothecaries' Labels, &c. &c., and Book and Pamphlet work, neatly and promptly executed.
Special attention given to the printing of Periodicals.

LADIES' BOOT and SHOE STORE. Business Enlarged.—The subscriber has constantly on hand, at wholesale or retail, or will make to order, Ladies', Misses' and Children's English or French Lasting Gaiter Boots, together with a large assortment of Morocco, Kid and Leather Boots and Shoes, of the best materials and workmanship, which he will sell low for cash.
N. B. Goodyear's Gum Shoes, a first-rate article, always on hand. W. C. PARKER,
No. 91 N. Sixth st., east side, 3 doors below Race st., Phila.

CONFECTIONERY.—Leatitia Bullock, No. 89 N. Sixth st., Phila., respectfully informs her friends and the public that she is prepared to furnish Ice Creams, Water Ices, Jellies, Cakes, Candies, &c., of every description and of the very best materials, all the produce of Free Labour, and warranted to give entire satisfaction.
Parties and families furnished at short notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.

NORRIS & JOHNSTON, PRINTERS.